

3/1/96

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

Department of History and Civilisation

THE RISE OF THE WAGE WORKER

PEASANT FAMILIES AND THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK
IN MODERN SPAIN

Carmen Sarasúa García

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining
the Degree of Doctor of the European University Institute

Examining Jury:

Prof. M. Angeles Durán, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid
Prof. Ramón Garrabou, Universitat Autònoma, Barcelona (co-supervisor)
Prof. Olwen Hufton, European University Institute
Prof. René Leboutte, European University Institute
Prof. Robert Rowland, ISCTE, Lisbon (supervisor)

December, 1995
Florence

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE



3 0001 0023 2043 2

946.055 R

EUROPEAN



3 00

16550

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

Department of History and Civilisation

THE RISE OF THE WAGE WORKER

**PEASANT FAMILIES AND THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK
IN MODERN SPAIN**

Carmen Sarasúa García

**Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining
the Degree of Doctor of the European University Institute**

LIB
946.055-
R SAR



Examining Jury:

Prof. M. Angeles Durán, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid
Prof. Ramón Garrabou, Universitat Autònoma, Barcelona (co-supervisor)
Prof. Olwen Hufton, European University Institute
Prof. René Leboutte, European University Institute
Prof. Robert Rowland, ISCTE, Lisbon (supervisor)

**December, 1995
Florence**

EUROPEAN



3 01

THE RISE OF THE WAGE WORKER
Peasant families and the organization of work in Modern Spain

Carmen Sarasúa García

Introduction: A methodological proposal to study the family organization of labour. Sources.....	p. 1
---	-------------

**I. THREE PEASANT ECONOMIES, 18TH TO 19TH CENTURIES: THE
DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC BASIS**

1. Montes de Pas	
1.a. The physical and historical setting.....	p. 32
1.b. Population, 1752-1880.....	p. 34
1.c. The property system: the family farm	p. 36
1.d. Productive basis	p. 40
2. Campo de Calatrava	
2.a. The physical and historical setting	p. 42
2. b. Population, 1752-1880.....	p. 44
2. c. The property system.....	p. 48
2. d. Productive basis	p. 54
3. Rute	
3. a.The physical and historical setting	p. 68
3. b. Population, 1752-1892.....	p. 68
3. c. The property system.....	p.69
3. d. Productive basis	p. 71
4. Transmission of property and peasant families	
The inheritance systems.	p. 77



II. THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR IN MID 18TH CENTURY SPAIN

1. The Catastro de Ensenada (1752) as a source to study the organization of labour in 18th century Spain.....p. 82
2. Montes de Pas: the family farm as the basis of the Pasiego economy.....p. 93
 2. a. Other activities of family members: temporary wage labour.....p. 104
3. Campo de Calatrava.
 3. a. The wage sector: agricultural and livestock workers.....p. 116
 3. b. An alternative vision of production and labour organization in Almagro in mid-18th century: domestic lace industry.....p. 124
 3. b. 1. Lace trade as an indirect way to reconstruct female lace manufacturep. 127
 3. b. 2. Memoriales as a source for female occupation.....p. 133
4. Rute.
 4. a. The structure of activity in the mid-18th century.....p. 144
 4. b. Non market activities.....p. 154
5. "A difficult labrynth to get out of": Housework in rural economies.....p. 159
 5. a. Interpretations of housework as women's work.....p. 169

III. THE FORMATION OF A SUPPLY OF WAGE LABOUR

1. Forces shaping the supply of labour within the family
 1. a. The family division of labour as a division of roles.....p. 179
 1. a. 1. Historical interpretations of the gender division of tasks...182
 1. b. The internal distribution of resources.....p. 189
 1. b. 1. Income-pooling and its limits: a comparison of Santander male and female temporary migrants and their pattern of contribution to the family economy.....p. 191
 1. b. 2. Unequal access of family members to pooled resources...p. 197
 - * Money for education.....p. 201
 - Education in Montes de Pas.....p. 202
 - Education in Campo de Calatrava.....p. 206
 - Education in Rute.....p. 211
 - * Differential consumption associated with leisure activities..
 - Gambling.....p. 219
 - Drinking.....p. 223

1. c. Functionality of gender spatial segregation for the formation of the labour market	p. 224
2. Forces shaping the supply of labour outside the family	
2. a. The organization of labour in mid-18th century.....	p. 233
2. a. 1. Catholic moralists and parish priests.....	p. 235
2. a. 2. Local instances of power: the Concejos.	p. 240
2. b. The reorganization promoted by the Enlightened project:	
2. b. 1. The 'new' model of peasant family: the spinning wife....	p. 245
2. b. 2. The enforcement of the 'new' model: legislation and State intervention.....	p. 251
* Measures restricting access to waged sectors.....	p. 252
* Measures intended to promote certain occupations	p. 255
3. The resulting supply of wage labour	
3. a. Wage differentials.....	p. 258
3. a. 1. Wages in Montes de Pas.....	p. 259
3. a. 2. Wages in Almagro.....	p. 261
3. a. 3. Wages in Rute.....	p. 265
3. b. Gendered patterns of social mobility.....	p. 269

IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY: WORK IN AND OUTSIDE THE LABOUR MARKET

1. Montes de Pas.....	p. 282
1. a. Peddling and trading in fabrics and clothes as first stages of permanent migration.....	p. 284
1. b. The structure of activity in 1877: servants as wage labour...	p. 290
1. c. Temporary migration in the census of 1877.....	p. 295
1. d. Wet nursing during the 19th century.....	p. 297
1. e. Investment of savings into the family farm: cattle rising as the source of economic transformation.	p. 300
1. f. Female householders.....	p. 305

2. Almagro	
2. a. Occupational structure in 1801.....	p. 308
2. b. The Disentailment and the end of cattle trashumance.....	p. 310
2. c. Female householders.....	p. 313
2. d. Occupational structure in 1842.....	p. 316
2. e. Wage agricultural labour.....	p. 318
2. f. The expansion of the lace industry.....	p. 321
2. g. The Torres lace 'factory'.....	p. 324
3. Rute	
3. a. Agricultural changes: the expansion of the olive tree.....	p. 332
3. b. The occupational structure in 1803.....	p. 335
3. c. Wage agricultural labour and irregular family incomes.....	p. 337
3. d. The occupational structure in 1892.....	p. 339
3. d. 1. Day labourers and their families.....	p. 340
3. d. 2. Domestic manufacturing of pork products.....	p. 343

IV. CONCLUSIONS.

1. A changing peasant economy.....	p. 346
2. A regional pattern of labour supply?.....	p. 349
3. The redefinition of the gender division of labour: 19th century changes in the occupational structure	p. 351
4. The Rise of the (Male) Wage Worker, the Rise of the (Female) Unpaid Worker.....	p. 355

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	p. 359
-------------------	--------

APENDIX.....	p. 370
--------------	--------

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted in the first instance to the European University Institute for providing me with both the financial resources and an stimulating intellectual environment to write this thesis.

The Institute has also given me the opportunity to work with Professors Rowland, Hufton and Garrabou. The final result owes much to their teaching, support and confidence that I could always improve my work.

I am particularly indebted, for their help, but above all for their friendship, to Mary Daly, Evi Karousou, Angela Schenk and Laraine Laudati.

My work has always been inspired by those women social scientists for whom social conflicts are not 'something to leave at the university door so as to be able to work in peace'. This thesis is dedicated to them and to the women and men who use knowledge to change life.

EURO



I am writing to you to inform you of the results of the examination of the documents submitted to me by you on the 10th of the month of June 1964. The examination has shown that the documents are not in conformity with the requirements of the law of 1963 on the subject of the registration of companies. In particular, the documents do not contain the necessary information regarding the capital of the company and the names of the shareholders. I am therefore unable to register the company at this time. I am sorry that I cannot do more for you at this time, but I must adhere to the law. I am sure that you will understand my position. I am sure that you will be able to provide the necessary information in the future. I am sure that you will be able to provide the necessary information in the future. I am sure that you will be able to provide the necessary information in the future.

Yours faithfully,
[Signature]

THE RISE OF THE WAGE WORKER

Peasant families and the organization of work in Modern Spain

Introduction

This thesis originated out of an interest in work, and in the organization of work, in contemporary societies. It could be said to explore the past from the present for it intends to provide historical evidence to explain one of the most characteristic features of the organization of labour in contemporary societies, the fact that while men work for wages, women are mostly occupied in unpaid domestic work and, as a consequence, undertake waged labour under completely different conditions.

The 'prevailing assumption' behind the fundamental process that gave rise to such organization of work in modern European societies might be appropriately described with the following image by Maxine Berg:

The fundamental transformation of the meaning of work (...) is usually believed to have come with the reorganisation of production which separated the household from the workplace at some point during the industrialisation. (...) Families were divided from the trades, consumption from production, women's activities from men's.¹

The gender division of labour has deep economic and social consequences. Its economic consequences center on the fact that in market economies wage labour is the main source of income for individuals, conditioning, to a large extent, access to property, patterns of consumption, entitlements, etc.

Social consequences arise because the status of worker is what confers

¹ Maxine Berg, "Women's work, mechanisation and the early phases of industrialisation in England", in P. Joyce, ed., The Historical meanings of work, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 64.



social and political identity in modern societies ². In fact, since the onset of industrialization, the Worker has increased his social importance, and societies see themselves as divided between a 'productive part', formed by Workers, and a 'passive', or 'inactive' part, peopled by Non-Workers. The construction of gender identities is largely based on male/female relations to work: men are seen as breadwinners, full participants in the market economy, women as dependants and carers, outside or peripheral to the market.

This thesis intends to describe the historical process which produced this dichotomy. It assumes three fundamental ideas:

First, that the production of goods and services was never completely absorbed by the market after industrialisation. Rather, part of it continued to be organized by families. These two spheres of production were based upon two different systems of work organization: work done under family relations of production was unpaid, while work under market relations of production was paid.

Second, that these two work spheres were not unconnected and the allocation of roles within one or the other was not fortuitous. A gender division of labour existed, by which men worked under market relations of production and women under family relations of production.

Third, that unpaid housewives are a historical product of this duality (and, for this reason, a historical problem) as much as male breadwinners are, and both must be studied as the products of the same historical process.

Accounts of the organization of labour in contemporary societies

All notions of work are historical products. ³ The following pages aim to define the elements that form the notion of work here utilised, as much as the

² As Anne Jacob has recently pointed out, an identification between worker and holder of property (and then political) rights lies at the basis of the Western contemporary notion of work. A. Jacob, *Le Travail, reflet des cultures*, Paris, PUF, 1994.

³ This is the idea of the essays gathered in P. Joyce, ed., *The Historical meanings of work*.

theoretical framework. This is particularly difficult in this case for two reasons: first, because work has been the subject of multidisciplinary concern: Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, have all focused on work and its organization, and have developed their own traditions of thinking about the subject, and their own concepts.

Relevant contributions to the subject have been made in each of these fields and, by focusing on work from different viewpoints, have rendered clear the complexity of the problem. The historian of work must be familiar with these different traditions and incorporate them into her research, and this is not always easy.

Second, given the fundamental political and economic implications of being defined or not as a "worker" in capitalist societies, much political debate has centered in the last two decades upon conflicting views of "production" and conflicting definitions of "worker". In fact, there is probably no other academic subject influenced to such an extent by political debate than that of work. The way in which today's scholars think of work is to a large extent the result of these politics, and for this reason these theoretical developments have been incorporated into the theoretical framework as well.

The evolution in the way work has been conceptualized by both academic disciplines and politics can be summarized, if in a very simplified way, by considering three main developments: a first stage where the centrality of work was recognised but it was identified with waged work, and workers as wage workers; a second stage in which non-market work was recognised, as well as the fact that this was mainly done in families. And a third stage in which the notions of conflicting interests usually applied to the "factory-workplace" has been imported into the analysis of families, defined now as places of economic conflict as much as labour markets are.

Studies on women's work have followed a parallel trajectory, from the first Marxist feminist studies on women's presence in the labour movements, to the studies on women's involvement in agriculture, industries and services of all kinds, to the gradual recognition that women have above all worked outside the labour market, in the family, to the attempt to account for the mechanisms



behind the persistent gender division of labour.

I will follow these three basic ideas to describe and interpret the assumptions of the contemporary literature on work and on work organization. This is not an 'evolutionist' interpretation of the historiography, but the recognition that there have been some fundamental developments, that have taken place to a large extent in response to the preceding literature, and cannot be understood without reference to it.

1. Labour as wage labour

Economics preceded history in its interest in work. In fact, "ever since economics emerged as a distinct field of inquiry, apart from the broader realm of moral and social philosophy, no other single factor has occupied so central an analytical role" as has labour ⁴. Established in the 18th century by Adam Smith as 'the original price of everything', labour dominated classical economics for the next century.

The second of the 'classical' interpretations of work organization was provided by history. The historians' interest in the world of workers marked a revolution in a discipline traditionally devoted to analyses of political events and the behaviour of elites. This interest developed as a consequence of an interest in the conditions of the working class and was deeply influenced by Marxism, a political movement and a theory of political change that had its own interpretation of the historical process ⁵.

The tradition of historical studies of the working class started in the late 19th century ⁶, and has continued well into the present century. An important

⁴ P. J. McNulty, The Origins and Development of Labor Economics, p. 2.

⁵ In fact, some of the first historical accounts of capitalist development are by Marxist theoreticians, such as Engels' The condition of the Working Class in England (1844) and Lenin's The Development of Capitalism in Russia (1899).

⁶ The works by J. L. and B. Hammond, The Village Labourer and The Skilled Labourer, and S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism (1894) and Industrial Democracy (1898), are considered as the pioneers of this scholarly tradition.

renovation took place during the 1960's, when works were published that focused on working classes, in the plural, "as distinct from labour organizations and movements" ⁷.

Marx's theory was an analysis of the capitalist mode of production, and the capitalist relations of production that emerged from the English industrial revolution of the 18th century. He defined labour as the only commodity owned by workers, who, forced to exchange it in the market for a price that was less than its value, were exploited by the capitalist-owners of the means of production.

Like Marx, subsequent Marxist historians considered "labour" as wage labour, and workers as wage workers. They described the working class born of industrialization as the (only) agent of production and, as social classes were defined by their relation to the means of production, the (only) victim of exploitation and ultimately the (only) agent of political revolution.

Family had no role. In The origin of the Family, Private property and the State (1884), Engels forecast their disappearance with the imminent expansion of the market. Moreover, as the main concern of Marxist historians was with criticizing the working conditions generated by capitalism, precapitalist work, and especially family workshops or farms, was often described in an idealized way, stressing cooperation, dignity and worker autonomy.

These ideas, in particular the absence of non-market work, were increasingly criticized from the 1970's. Marxist feminist historians who challenged the vision of the male factory worker of historians such as E.P. Thompson or Eric Hobsbawm, were however disappointed at their lack of impact upon this historiography. In 1979, some of them lamented that Hobsbawm

still says of the working-class woman: 'Once married, she belonged to the proletariat not as a *worker*, but as a wife, mother, and housekeeper of workers.' (...) Relegated to the home, women and the domestic sphere itself may be ignored; domestic labour, kinship, childrearing, all of which impinge on and mould relations of production,

⁷ E. Hobsbawm, preface to Labouring Men. Studies in the History of Labour (1964), p. vii. Probably the most influential of them is E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963).

are denied a presence in labour or socialist history.⁸

In Spain, this position is well represented by Josep Fontana. In his book Historia, he dismissed gender history (in particular he refers to Tilly and Scott's Women, Work and Family) with a few lines and on linguistic grounds: the fact that there exists in spoken language a different word for upper and working class women (*señora* and *mujer*) would mean that class is the only 'real reality', and gender an invention to be dismissed.⁹ In his latest book he includes the "studies on women" among the "current academic fashions", together with "studies on sexuality and marriage (...) childhood (with studies on child delivery, breastfeeding (...) on illnesses (...) madness (...) death, etc." ¹⁰.

Like most Marxist historians, Fontana refuses to apply the materialist analysis he defends to the social position of men and women. In other words, some relations are social, hence a legitimate subject for historical research and for political action, others are natural (biological ?), hence not an historical problem nor a subject of political change.

2. The recognition of domestic work as work

For social scientists concerned with the gender division of labour in the 70's, the first task was to recognize housework as work. That this seems an obvious fact today is only a proof of how far the subject has come. Yet only two

⁸ S. Alexander, A. Davin, E. Hostettler, "Labouring Women: A Reply to Eric Hobsbawm", History Workshop, 8, 1979, p. 175, my underline. Similar points were made by Joan W. Scott with reference to E. P. Thompson in "Women in The Making of the English Working Class", reprinted in Gender and the Politics of History.

⁹ According to Fontana, in their book "the attempt to follow the changes in the role of the woman with respect to work results totally frustrated by the mistake of assuming that the "woman" is a group totally undifferentiated, forgetting that work cannot be considered making abstraction of the class distinctions among women: that there are, to say it in the terms of common language (that represents a cristalization of the rules of the social game) 'women' and 'ladies'". J. Fontana, Historia. Análisis del pasado y proyecto social, p. 176.

¹⁰ And concludes: "It is not that these aspects had not been taken into account by history before, but they tend now to separate themselves, to close on themselves, isolating themselves from the global study of society." J. Fontana, La historia después del fin de la historia, 1992, p. 84.

decades ago domestic work was not seen as work. In fact, it was a feminist "discovery" of the 1970's. The theoretical (and political) importance of defining housework as work was enormous, because it was the end of the understanding of *work as wage work*. As Delphy pointed out in 1978:

"The literature on housework grows each year (...) it is agreed, on the one hand, that housework is work (and that this is indeed the reason why it is being considered) and on the other hand that it is free/unpaid (which is why recognizing it *as* work was not automatic, but rather constituted a great step forward and a scientific discovery)"¹¹.

In the following years, this redefinition of work began to be incorporated by the social sciences. In 1974, sociologist Ann Oakley concluded her research on housework: "The principal aim of this study was to conceptualize housework as work, rather than simply an aspect of the feminine role in marriage. In this way [this study] differs from previous sociological surveys of family life or women's domestic situation"¹².

Once the dichotomy family/work that existed until the 70's had been overcome, and the character of unpaid work of housework recognized, the problem was to explain why a gender division of work, in which women remained at home while men were in the market, existed. The persistence in today's society of an important percentage of the female population who develop their productive life outside the market, working unpaid in households in order to supply their members with goods and services, was first recognized as a problem for economics.¹³

Two main explanations developed to account for this: Marxists described the gender division of labour as caused by the market and functional to capitalism. The fact that women worked outside the market as unpaid domestic workers was a market mechanism, from which capitalism benefited: by keeping

¹¹ Delphy, "Housework or domestic work", in Close to Home, p. 78.

¹² A. Oakley, The Sociology of Housework, 1974.

¹³ For the different accounts of women's position in economic activity, Alice H. Amsden, ed., The economics of Women and Work, with US contributions, and Andrée Michel, ed., Les femmes dans la société marchande.

an important part of the population working unpaid for the social reproduction of workers, capitalists were able to pay much lower wages to male workers, and hence increase their rate of profit. ¹⁴

Neoclassical economists also included households as a basic unit for economic analysis. In Gary Becker's theory of family, the gender division of labour was explained within the framework of economic rationality and individual choices and described as functional to individuals and families, which were cooperative units. Human capital theorists incorporated this analysis into their own: ¹⁵

an individual's use of time, and particularly the allocation of time between market and nonmarket activities, is also best understood within the context of the family as a matter of interdependence with needs, activities, and characteristics of other family members. More generally, the family is viewed as an economic unit which shares consumption and allocates production at home and in the market as well as the investments in physical and human capital of its members. In this view, the behavior of the family unit implies a division of labor within it. Broadly speaking, this division of labor or 'differentiation of roles' emerges because the attempts to promote family life are necessarily constrained by complementarity and substitution relations in the household production process and by comparative advantages due to differential skills and earning powers with which family members are endowed. ¹⁶

By describing education as an investment process fundamental for the society's development and individuals' possibilities in the labour market, human capital theory changed our vision of the economic and social significance of one of the basic functions of families, raising children, and provided a new vision of the links between families and markets ¹⁷.

Yet the problem remained of the interpretation of the family division of labour. The vision of the gender division of labour as *complementarity* is worth analyzing, because it appears, explicitly or, more usually, implicitly, in many economic and history works. Its success, of course, lies in the fact that such a

¹⁴ For Marxist accounts of women's position in the labour market, Larguía and Dumoulin,

¹⁵ Becker, A Treatise on the Family.

¹⁶ J. Mincer and S. Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women", p. 169.

¹⁷ For a summary on the literature on human capital, J. Mincer and S. Polachek, *Ibid.*

view denies conflict.

3. Families as sites of conflict

Whilst the economic functions of families have been generally accepted, how families function internally as productive and redistributive units is much less agreed upon. An interpretation of families as economic institutions and in which family members had conflicting interests was rendered difficult by the "natural" vision of families embedded in both neoclassical and Marxist conceptions, which in turn reproduced the Christian vision of families as natural God-ordained institutions.¹⁸

In the 1970's however, under the influence of the feminist movement and theory, the assumption of families as non-conflictual units was seriously challenged.

The works by Christine Delphy and other feminist sociologists questioned some of the traditional assumptions of this discipline, such as the definition of families as units of consumption and measures of social stratification.¹⁹ By describing the internal hierarchical structure of contemporary peasant families, some of these works challenged the idea that coresidence, considered a basic feature of families, indicates a shared standard of living for all family members.

In 1982 economist Nancy Folbre criticized the Marxist assumption that exploitation occurs only in the market, and suggested the study of family mechanisms of internal distribution.²⁰ At the same time that the notion of families as havens of Nature and Sentiment faded, the image of modern economies as integrated by anonymous Workers producing in Factories

¹⁸ For an economic interpretation of the Christian model of family life, M. A. Durán, "Una lectura económica de fray Luis de León",

¹⁹ C. Delphy, "Sharing the same table: consumption and the family", reprinted in Close to Home. A materialist analysis of women's oppression. The historical debate on the standard of living of the working populations assumes this.

²⁰ N. Folbre, "Exploitation comes home: a critique of the Marxian theory of family labour", Cambridge Journal of Economics, 6, 1982.

vanished.

These theoretical developments in the field of economics had an important impact on the way economists analyzed labour markets. Labour economists, for instance, identified a number of features of labour markets in industrialized economies that could not be explained by supply and demand mechanisms. Segmentation theory of the labour market argued that labour markets were divided into different "segments", to which different wage rates and market behaviour are attached ²¹.

Development economists argued that traditional categories for defining work simply do not fit the reality of work of Third World economies, where still most people, men and women, work regularly outside the market. ²²

Unpaid housework is increasingly present in economic analysis, especially since changes in its supply are being described along with the expansion of market relations of production, so as to include tasks that were traditionally out of the market, such as reproductive work, caring work, etc. ²³.

Historical accounts of the organization of work

In their attempt to build a more realistic account of the organization of work in the past, gender historians relied on many sources. In the first place, they retrieved the first accounts of women's work from the beginning of the 20th century, most of them by English-speaking authors, such as Olive Schreiner and Alice Clark. ²⁴

²¹ M. Reich, D. Gordon, R. Edwards, "A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation", in A. H. Amsden, ed., The economics of women and work, pp. 232-241.

²² For a summary of the integration of these concepts in Economics, Lourdes Benería, "Towards a Greater Integration of Gender in Economics", World Development, september 1995.

²³ For instance, a recent article of N. Folbre on caring labour explores "the possibility that the expansion of competitive markets will eventually reduce its supply". "The paradox of caring labour", Feminist Economics, 1, 1, 1995.

²⁴ Olive Schreiner, Woman and Labour, originally published in 1911, and Alice Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth-Century, in 1919. Ivy Pinchbeck's Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution (1930) has been greatly influential. In Spain, Concepción Arenal wrote in

These works were concerned with the effects of industrial work and wage labour on women. But, as male authors inspired by Socialism had done, they tended to idealize pre-industrial work. In particular they idealized the role of women in pre-industrial work, who would have been pushed by factory work to abandon their homes and their children. ²⁵

The study of women's work for the market led to the realization of the complexities of women's position as wage workers. First, much of the work done by women for the market in early industrialisation had not been recognized as such by historians because it was done at home. In fact, in its most extreme, or 'pure', version, the definition of work as wage work lingered upon the definition of wage work as factory work. As women had played a major role in domestic manufactures and services for the market (and the question why this was so will be also posed) they had been ignored by the historical accounts of (factory) work ²⁶.

Second, female wage work, even when it was factory work, that is, even when it was "real" wage work, presented features that differed greatly from male work. Studies on protoindustrial areas showed that women's working life cycle, for instance, was different from that of men. The 'pinceleuses' of the textile industries of the 18th century tended to abandon industrial work "soit pour se

1884 the piece on Spanish women for The Woman question in Europe (New York, Putnam's Sons). Other attempts to denounce working conditions of women were undertaken by writers such as Emilia Pardo-Bazán, who described the work of cigar makers in the factory of La Coruña in La Tribuna.

²⁵ These works "portray precapitalist conditions as superior to what followed". S. McMurry, "Women's Work in Agriculture: Divergent Trends in England and America, 1800 to 1930", p. 249. For McMurry, for instance, Pinchbeck argued "that the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with its attendant specialization and enlarged scale, curtailed women's participation in the business of cheese participation." Yet "recent scholarship on the premodern period by Judith Bennet, Barbara Hanawalt, and others has seriously questioned the notion of a golden age for women in precapitalist society. In historiography, the picture of a consistent, unequivocal decline in women's status with capitalism is giving way to an analysis that not only emphasizes both change (whether improvement or decline) and continuity but also accounts for geographical, class, and occupational variation."

²⁶ Leonore Davidoff, "The separation of home and work? Landladies and lodgers in nineteenth- and twentieth-century England", in S. Burman, ed., Fit work for women, pp. 64-97.

marier, soit pour s'engager comme domestiques" 27.

This work pattern, different from that of male workers and also true of other sectors and regions 28, appeared systematically related to housework. For instance, the young pinceleuses being hired at Chevroux had to "auparavant prouver au baron de Grandcour qu'elles ne négligeaient pas pour cela leurs foyers ni les travaux des champs."

This type of evidence led to the conviction that women's market work could not be understood isolated from their "other" work, (unpaid) housework. As a consequence, having now guaranteed women their status as legitimate subject of historical research, a second wave of historical studies focused on the characteristics of their work, and raised questions about the permanence of the sexual division the labour markets, wage differentials, etc.

Historians noted that women had been the labour force employed by capitalist entrepreneurs in the English textile mills of the late eighteenth century. This was not surprising, since women were much cheaper workers than men at the time when labour markets developed. According to capitalist dynamics, the search for maximizing profit should have led to a massive hiring of women, and to the subsequent fall in men's wages. The rise of a labour market should have led, then, to the disappearance of wage differentials between men and women through the simple mechanism of wage equalization.

The question then, was, why did this never happen? Why and how was the initial tendency to hire women in preference to men reversed?

Evidence on men organized around trade unions and succeeding in keeping women workers outside the better paid sectors, in assuring higher wages for themselves, was collected. This contradiction of the basic principle of free functioning of the market was interpreted as the result of a 'male pact' between

27 Pierre Caspard, "Les pinceleuses d'estavayer. Stratégies patronales sur le marché du travail féminin au XIIIe siècle", *Revue Suisse d'Histoire*, 36 (1986), 2, pp. 121-156.

28 It has recently described for late nineteenth century Ireland, for instance. Bourke, *From husbandry to housewifery. Ireland, 1875-1925*, 1994.

capitalists and workers ²⁹. Most importantly, it raised new questions on the conflicting interests of men and women in the labour market and reinforced the impression that men and women were different 'types' of wage workers.

A fundamental line of research has been the historical construction of the economic categories of "dependant" and "active", or breadwinner. The character of women and children as dependants of a breadwinner has been rightly described as a social construction with important political implications ³⁰.

Family work in history

Some of these developments were incorporated by historians into their researches. On occasion, this incorporation took place in an almost 'spontaneous' way when some of the traditional assumptions of history were being challenged by historical evidence itself.

By the 1970's it was clear that wage workers had not been the only agents of the work organization of the first industrialization. The debate on the transition from feudalism to capitalism, initiated in the late 1940's by Maurice Dobb, and continued in the 1970's with the 'Brenner debate', suggested that the 'English model' of economic change was not shared by the rest of European countries, where peasant families holding small plots, not day labourers, had formed the majority of the agricultural population. This obliged historians to set limits to an the understanding of industrialization as the massive transformation of the population into waged workers. ³¹

In the first stages of their interest in the family, both historians and economists relied on the works of demographers and family historians. Whilst these works often take for granted the institution that is the subject of their

²⁹ Hartmann, "Capitalism, patriarchy and job segregation by sex", in Z. Eisenstein (ed.), Capitalist Patriarchy and the case for Socialist Patriarchy, N. York, 1979.

³⁰ Folbre, "Nineteenth-century censuses and the construction of the dependent wife".

³¹ For a summary of this debate, The Brenner debate. Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe.

research, limiting themselves to describe changes in the size of the family group, patterns of residence, etc., and ignoring intra-family conflicts ³², family history has a tradition of interest in family work. ³³

However, the entrance of the family into classical historical accounts of industrialisation was difficult and slow. First, because the categories and theories upon which economics and history were based assumed the market as the center of economic activity. The traditional Marxist interpretation of a transition from a feudal mode of production in which peasants were exploited by the lord, to a capitalist mode, in which wage workers were exploited by capitalists, left little room for families. But evidence on the continuity of the family farm, especially in continental Europe, had to be accounted for. Brenner's attempt exemplifies the difficulties of Marxist theory to cope with the family, particularly the peasant family, as a unit of production:

with the development of artificial fertilizers and the growth of biological knowledge towards the end of the nineteenth century, the small family farm obtained positive advantages in certain types of production (...) the small family farmer could apply a quality and care in labour necessary for animal production which was usually unattainable on capitalist farms using wage labour. ³⁴

Some years later, proto-industrial theorists such as Peter Kriedte described sixteenth century European society as based on

the dominance of a peasant economy organized on a family basis (...) The peasant family was the basic unit of production. It tended to be composed of the two parents and their children. The nuclear family was the general rule. (...) The peasant tried to strike a balance between the labour potential of his family on the one hand, and on the other its own culturally determined needs as well as obligations towards other persons and institutions. If this balance became upset, he had to redress it by increasing the family's

³² "women's history sees the dichotomy between men and women as both a research area and a problem, whereas family history or demography, on the contrary, tend to see the family as a functional unit in harmony." Wikander, "On Women's History and economic History", Scandinavian Economic History Review, 2, 1990, p. 67.

³³ P. Laslett and R. Wall defined in 1972 families as work groups, "people who live together associated for productive purposes", in their Household and Family in past time, p. 291.

³⁴ Brenner (ed.), The Brenner debate, p. 323.

labour input; this could reach the dimensions of 'self-exploitation' (A. V. Chayanov). ³⁵

By focusing on rural industry and the strategies of peasant families, proto-industrialization theory described families as units of production and income generation as a collective process. In the last decade, a number of such studies, like that of Gay Gullickson on the French textile village of Aufray, have confirmed the important contribution of both men and women to the survival of peasant and industrial families.

Many of these works were part of the larger effort of historians to reconstruct women's working past. By describing the contribution of all family members to family income, these analyses demonstrated that the improvement of living conditions, and sometimes even the very survival of families, depended not upon the work of the head of the household, but upon the joint effort of all its members. Joan Scott and Louise Tilly opened their pioneer book on women's work with a quote stressing the fact that women had participated in production before as well as during the industrialization.

Yet these works were not simply a vindication of women's working past. They were also putting forward *an interpretation of the gender division of labour as complementarity of working roles*.

Scholars such as Tamara Hareven had already argued for the industrial sector that a complementarity existed between work done by the different family members ³⁶. Although a sexual division of labour existed in early factory work, earnings made by both men and women were equally fundamental to the family, and to a large extent the family's capacity to reproduce itself depended upon the capacity of all its members to engage in wage work.

Women's work on peasant farms was also interpreted as evidence of women's equality with men. The title of Gullickson's book, in which the gender division of labour is described through the tasks performed by women and men,

³⁵ P. Kriedte, Peasants, Landlords and Merchant Capitalists. Europe and the World Economy, 1500-1800, p.1.

³⁶ T. Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time, Cambridge University Press, 1982

Spinners and Weavers of Aufray, implies precisely this: men and women *did* different tasks (women spun, men wove), but both tasks were equally fundamental for the final cloth, equally important. Gullickson was in this way assuming Scott's and Tilly's account on the persistent division of work between men and women: "Although the jobs they performed may have differed, the work of husband and wife was equally necessary to the household" ³⁷.

This interpretation of the gender division of labour has been very pervasive. Jean Quataert, writing on 18th century Saxon homeweavers, concludes:

the preindustrial, subsistence peasant world relied on considerable sex role divisions. Men's work and women's work existed separately (...) yet each individual in the household provided indispensable services to the survival of the whole: the death of one member put extraordinary strains on the household unit. Men and women were crucial productive members of this peasant family economy. ³⁸

A variation of the "women's fundamental role" position, very successful in the 1980's, focused on peasant economies to argue that women had a "special relationship with the soil". The ethnographer M. Segalen, using mainly proverbs and sayings as a source to prove her point on love between peasant husband and wife in 19th-century France, affirms:

Woman's place in the rural family is unique, too. It will become evident that, though the law made her inferior, she was, in fact, viewed as a producer, and, as such, had a special relationship with the soil. Whatever the economic level of the farm, its future largely depended on woman's labour. ³⁹

Such statements would seem to imply that the fact of being a producer (as women were, and in areas of male outmigration often the main or only adult producer of the farm) precludes the possibility of having an inferior position. In fact, as Segalen herself mentions in passing, historical evidence shows that

³⁷ L. A. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and Family, p. 53.

³⁸ Jean H. Quataert, "Teamwork in Saxon homeweaving families in the nineteenth century. A preliminary investigation into the issue of gender roles", p. 4.

³⁹ Segalen, Love and Power in the Peasant Family. Rural France in the Nineteenth Century, p. 2.

women were both producers *and* (legally, economically, culturally) inferior to their menfolk.

This vision has been challenged by other anthropologists working on peasant families. Lourdes Méndez, working on a small peasant community in Galicia, in Northern Spain, refers to this interpretation of the peasant family division of labour as complementary and to the "peasant wife's power":

Segalen (1980) talks about the complementarity between man and woman in the rural milieu, particularly regarding the work distribution; Verdier (1979) defends the so-called 'feminine arts' and considers them as an indicator of a feminine power; Weiner (1983) insists on the feminine power (...) I found peasant women without any acknowledged social power, without any weight in the decision-making process, and women farmers who became 'helpers of the head of the farm' in the local census (...) I was not in front of a loss of power but in front of a non-power.⁴⁰

I would argue that the desire to contribute to the recognition of the importance of women's work, and women's contribution to production, previously denied or ignored, led these historians into the voluntaristic affirmation of 'women's agency', and the denial of women's 'passive role' in history, and specifically in economic life.

The important contribution of these works cannot be ignored. Women's work, in both peasant and rural industrial families, has been valued and a first attempt to describe in its complexity had been made. Yet their interpretation is completely misleading because it implies that from the fact that women (and often children) worked at least as hard as men did can be deduced that women worked in the same conditions and with the same economic and social results as men.

By focusing on the work done by each family member, isolating work from the legal and economic framework in which women and men worked, or ignoring evidence of this, these works suggest that economic and social differences in their status were non-existent before the expansion of the labour market. In other words, it is assumed that they were caused by it.

⁴⁰ Lourdes Méndez, *'Cousas de mulleres'. Campesinas, poder y vida cotidiana (Lugo 1940-1980)*, p. 15-16.

EUR

While demographic factors such as family size and household structure have been the topic of a great deal of research, social relations within the family, particularly those between men and women, remain largely unexplored. Neglect of this topic is partly due to an implicit theoretical assumption which pervades much of the literature on the social history of the family: if all family members make important contributions to production and share the products of their labor it is assumed that family relations are relatively egalitarian. Many Marxists share a vision of the precapitalist family as a collective and consensual unit (...) Even where the existence of a sexual division of labor is noted, it is described as relatively un consequential (...) the fact that women in colonial New England played an important role in production did not ensure them any objective power within the household.⁴¹

To reduce a trade or a job to a technical task allows a false question to be put: namely, what is more interesting about the *tasks* of a company director than the *tasks* of a schoolteacher; the *tasks* of schoolteacher than the *tasks* of a road sweeper? The sophism of the question lies in the fact that in this problematic the definition of a road

18

sweeper is: 'a man who pushes a broom'. Nothing could be further from the truth. A road sweeper is a man who pushes a broom *on the instructions of someone else* and in exchange for a derisory wage. 42

The distinction between *task* and *work* is immensely helpful to an analysis of the gender division of labour, because it helps us to avoid such traps as to insist on the "importance" and "value" of certain tasks. Rather, it suggests that a previous definition of the workers' status is necessary to understand the division. By pointing out that it is the *social relationships* under which all work is done which explain the value, social recognition, and economic rewards of work, Delphy is picking up an idea fundamental to a certain tradition of materialist analysis that goes back to Polanyi, who defined markets and economic relations in general as parts of social relations:

man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets (...) the economic system will be run on noneconomic motives (...) The economic system is, in effect, a mere function of social organization. 43

By pointing to the *social relation* before any inherent characteristics of the *task*, to explain the work organization, this interpretation makes it possible to see the division of labour as the *result* of social hierarchy, and not its cause. This is of special importance in the case of the gender division of labour, because of the long ideological tradition that links women's and men's different position to biology. As Joan Scott has recently written:

By assuming that women have inherent characteristics and objective identities consistently and predictably different from men's, and that these generate definable female needs and interests, historians imply that sexual difference is a natural rather than a social phenomenon. The search for an analysis of discrimination gets caught by a circular logic in which 'experience' explains gender difference and gender difference

42 C. Delphy, "Protofeminism and Antifeminism, in Close to Home, p. 198.

43 Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time, p. 46 and 49. Polanyi, however, failed to apply this analysis to the gender division of labour, that he classified as a natural division: "Division of labor, a phenomenon as old as society, springs from differences inherent in the facts of sex, geography, and individual endowment." The Great Transformation, p. 44.

explains the asymmetries of male and female 'experience.' (...) Women's history written from this position, and the politics that follow from it, end up endorsing the ideas of unalterable sexual difference that are used to justify discrimination. 44

Taking these theoretical developments as the framework of this thesis, its main assumptions are the following:

First, the structure of work organization, both in the family and in the market, is historical, that is, it has changed over time and developed according to different regional patterns. This apparently obvious principle has been rarely applied to the analysis of the gender division of labour, which has been interpreted as responding to natural reasons.

This explains why I think *an historical approach* explains this process better than a purely economic one, and why this is a comparative work, seeking to identify the regional variables that contributed most to shaping the rise of a labour supply. Its features can be best understood in the period of change *par excellence* of modern history, the industrialization that brought about the expansion of labour markets. In that sense, this thesis is about change, about one of the fundamental changes that have shaped contemporary societies, the process by which individuals become wage workers or entered wage relations of production.

Second, it is argued that the gender division of labour predates the market. For this reason an emphasis must be placed on peasant, not industrial, society, and on the supply of labour, rather than on the demand. As the "prevailing assumption" regarding the division of labour in modern societies sees industrialisation as separating production and reproduction in time and space, defining, hence, implicitly the pre-industrial period as one where cooperative families were the units of production, this thesis explores this pre-industrial period in order to confirm or refute this assumption.

In turn, an analysis of labour outside formal labour markets, and especially, of family labour, is fundamental to understanding the development of labour markets.

44 J. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 1988, p. 4.

Wage working population developed as part of a two-fold process, its mirror image being that other part of the adult population whose access to paid work was restricted and whose energies became dedicated to unpaid work, unpaid services. Both are inseparable pieces of the same process.

Third, preindustrial families were organized not only through a division of complementary tasks. They were hierarchical institutions. Differences within families are described, first, as systematic, that is, not merely due to personal differences. Second, they are seen as having a fundamental role in shaping the different positions from which women and men entered the new relations of production.

It is suggested that concepts such as *constraint* and *limited choice* account better for the rise of the supply of labour than cooperation and consensus.

The method developed in this thesis to describe and understand the family organization of labour is two-fold. First, production is redefined so as to include production of goods and services not only for the market. In this way, all work done by all family members is taken into account, regardless of its destiny.

Second, participation of family members in production and work effort is confronted with their access to family resources, that is, internal mechanisms of distribution and consumption are described.

The status of family members is described by (a) assessing each individual's participation in family work, and (b) assessing each individuals' access to family resources. From the comparison of these two levels of economic activity, a series of mechanisms appear that formed the family internal system of distribution and indicate the hierarchies within the families.

In this way, criteria such as "respect", "importance", or "affection" are replaced by criteria such as the legal position, the right to property, the access to family money, level of education, of the family members. I argue that only the latter set of criteria permit a discussion on the status and relative position of family members and a realistic comparison.

A redefinition of economic activity so as to include production and consumption outside the market is also insufficient to understand historical processes such as the rise of a new organization of work. Labour supply cannot be

understood by focusing only on market mechanisms. The organization of work before labour markets developed requires an analysis of the social mechanisms of a pre-market society. This explains why the categories and methods of quantitative economic history are of very limited use for research of this kind.

Even economists like Folbre have noted that "the social construction and contestation of (...) norms, preferences and values, has important implications for the supply of (...) labour" ⁴⁵.

Anthropological studies have therefore been incorporated into the analysis, in order to gain a better understanding of these "norms, preferences and values", of the hierarchies in peasant societies where rank was established not only by consumption or display of certain goods, but by the occupation of the public and private space, by signs, prerogatives, deferences, "non-material" consumption, etc. ⁴⁶

As these works show, the way in which individuals were socially defined, the processes of social change, the value of goods, the production, use, or consumption of goods and services, were regulated by norms, which were usually implicit. These norms were elements fundamental to an understanding of work and the historical changes which it has undergone.

I have limited the use of the anthropological literature to interpretations of the non-market value of goods and services, and to the interpretation of access to public and private space. I understand that there are other levels of interest that could be applied to peasant societies. Studying modalities of marriage of rural families of south-west France from the 17th to the 20th centuries, whose main elements were the wedding ceremony, the dowry and the trousseau, Agnès Fine has pointed out that these subjects, traditionally studied by anthropologists, have recently become of interest for historians. "The same cannot be said of another type of approach used in ethnology which sets out to analyse the

⁴⁵ Folbre, "The paradox of caring labor", p. 78.

⁴⁶ They have seen as a useful means to help the economic historian to overcome the tension between history and structure. R. Rowland, Antropologia, história e diferença. Alguns aspectos, p. 61.

symbolic. Yet this approach is essential if we wish to attempt to explain the many aspects of a social reality and at the same time take into account the coherence of representations.”⁴⁷ These levels are not, however, the interest of this research. Because my primary interest lies in explaining the male/female pattern of the organization of labour, the work is more about mechanisms and work traditions than about figures and images.

The connection made between these effects and women’s continuing obligation to do unpaid housework has also been made by historians , and my own evidence strongly supports this.

My contribution to this interpretation lies in two directions: first, my research starts in mid-18th century, before labour markets developed. By studying the work organization in different peasant societies at a micro level, it has been possible to show that the features regarded as characteristics of industrialization and capitalist relations existed already before these developed. They formed part of the family work organization and were carried into the new relations of production as these developed during the late 18th and 19th centuries.

Second, my research shows the rise of a supply of labour as a mechanism contemporaneous with the rise of a supply of domestic unpaid labour, and attempts to understand both as parts of the same process. The construction of domestic unpaid work as women’s work has to be understood as part of the same process by which wage work was constructed as men’s work.

Recent interpretations of the formation of a labour supply in Spain describe the gender division of labour without defining it as a problem. In a recent work on the evolution of rural work in Spain from 19th- to 20th centuries, Rodríguez Labandeira devotes one page to “el trabajo femenino no contabilizado”, where he explains: “woman’s work on the fields being socially regarded as a complement, her participation in the process of production through the market materializes itself only in the periods of high labour demand -- harvesting or recollection-- or

⁴⁷ Specifically, “the symbolic is an essential feature of the relationship between the sexes.” *The Trousseau* in Michelle Perrot, ed., *Writing Women’s History* p. 119 and 134.

EUR
for convenient but not fundamental agricultural tasks, where precisely because wages are inferior to those of man, women perform" 48. And then he explains that women also worked in family farms, raised poultry, etc.

This type of interpretation takes for granted the gender division of labour, cannot explain it because has not defined it as a problem. Women's work is not ignored any more, references are made to their participation in paid work, and sometimes even to unpaid work in the family farms. Services to the family, however, are not mentioned. But the result is a description that takes for granted this division. "woman's work in the fields was socially regarded as a complement". Why? The question is not even posed.

The case studies

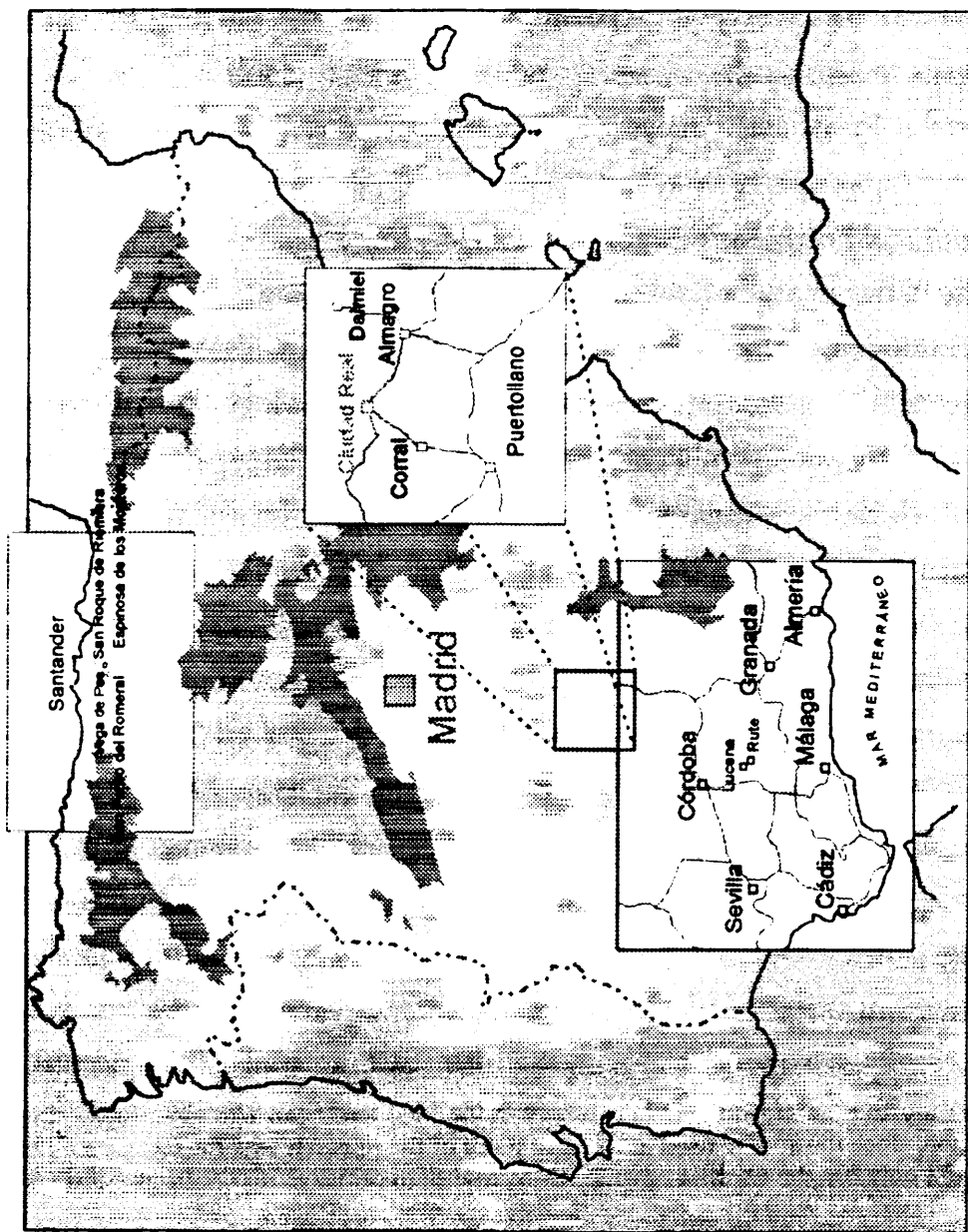
To test these propositions three different peasant economies were chosen, including as many as possible variables that could have affected the development of the supply of labour: physical resources, patterns of landownership, inheritance systems, demographic patterns, and cultural traditions. A comparative approach was regarded as fundamental to identify the weight of each of these variables.

The three areas are in Spain (see map 1). There are two main reasons that explain my choice of Spain to study the rise of the supply of labour. First, my previous knowledge of the formation of the Spanish urban labour markets, where immigration of rural workers appeared as a fundamental feature, is, to a large extent, still unexplored. 49

Second, the fact that in Spain many different types of peasant societies existed. Spanish territory embraces practically all the features affecting possible changes in the work organization, from communities of small landholders in mountaneous areas, very similar to those described for Alpine Europe, to the

48 El trabajo rural en España (1876-1936), p. 46. Anthropos, 1991.

49 C. Sarasúa, Criados, nodrizas y amos. La formación del mercado de trabajo madrileño, 1758-1868.



large estates of the Castilian and Andaluz plains, devoted to grain, olive trees and vineyards like the Mediterranean areas described for Southern Italy and Greece, to the areas of commercial agriculture where capitalist relations of production developed during the 18th century.⁵⁰

The first of the areas chosen was a mountaneous region in Northern Spain, the valley of Pas, in the current province of Santander. I had become familiar with temporary and permanent flows of Pasiego male and female outmigrants to Madrid in my previous work and could incorporate this data into the research. In the Pas valley, as in most of Northern Spain, family farms were the basis of the property system. Wage labour was exceptional, although evidence of seasonal and temporary migrations to work for wages was abundant. It is to a large extent the characteristic model of mountaneous economies described for Central Europe and Northern Italy.⁵¹

The second area, the Campo de Calatrava, is an area of dry farming in La Mancha, where nobles and convents were the proprietors of most of the land and livestock, largely trashumant sheep. A domestic lace manufacture existing since the 16th century developed into a successful industry in the first decades of the 19th century. It represents a variety of the European model of proto-industrialization, since families were generally not land holders but dependent on wages.

The third case is the town of Rute, in the sierra of the Andalusian province of Cordoba, where the typical landownership system in the hands of few absentee proprietors appears mixed with the subsistence economy characteristic of a mountain area, and a specialization on trade.⁵²

⁵⁰A fourth area of capitalist agriculture in the Mediterranean was abandoned for purposes of comparison, since the source used as starting point of the research was the Catastro de Ensenada, which existed only for the Castilian provinces in mid-18th century.

⁵¹ For Italy, Viazzo and Dionigi, "The Peasant Family in Northern Italy, 1750-1930: A Reassessment", *Journal of Family History*, 15, 4, 1990, pp. 461-482. For Alpine Europe, L. Fontaine, *Le voyage et la memoire: Colporteurs de l'Oisans au XIXe siècle* and *Histoire du colportage en Europe (XVe-XIXe siècle)*.

⁵² M. Petruszewicz, *Latifondo. Economia morale e vita materiale in una periferia dell'Ottocento*, Marsilio, 1989.

Although wages were available only a few months a year, dependence of the agricultural population on wages increased during the 19th century. Despite this, there is no evidence of permanent outmigration. Rather, an important demographic increase took place during that century.

The thesis is organized into four chapters.

Chapter I presents the three cases, starting with a description of the physical and historical settings, and the manner in which these shaped the traditional organization of production. It discusses the demographic evolution, the structure of property and the inheritance system of each of the three areas studied. Peasant families adapted themselves to these physical and economic conditions through multiple strategies.

Chapter II describes the work organization existing in each of the three areas studied in mid-18th century, using as the main source the Catastro de Ensenada, a massive compilation of statistical data collected around 1752-53. A discussion of this source, particularly of the questionnaire on which the Cadaster was based and the doubts raised by its implementation, proves useful to understand 18th century ideas on work and how individuals were defined as workers or non workers according to their place within the family structure.

Strategies used by peasant families are placed within the framework of the expansive social and economic conjuncture of the second half of the 18th century, with increasing urban demand for agricultural and textile goods, and the rise of a demand for services (mostly domestic service, but also transportation). The chapter suggests that the new possibilities of income earning had a potential to transform the existing work organization peasant families by turning family workers into wage workers, and it evaluates to what extent this potential was realized.

The chapter describes the different work performed by members of peasant families. A last part is devoted to housework because it is mentioned in the Cadaster as a problematic question.

Chapter III studies the process of formation of a supply of labour identifying the factors that affected this supply. It starts by analyzing what is



usually understood as gender division of labour, that is the division of tasks between men and women. This division has been interpreted as complementarity, particularly when defining peasant economies where intense participation in work of both men and women is most evident.

I argue that a definition of work as task fails to account for the social position in which workers work. I follow an alternative method based upon the materialist definition of work as the result of a social relation. It consists in contrasting the contribution of family members to production with their access to the resources derived from that work.

This chapter studies their pattern of income-earning. Data on 18th century agricultural wages show that even skilled men, the higher paid group of workers, received wages that were insufficient to maintain themselves throughout the year. Using evidence on wages and also on the seasonal demand for agricultural labour, the chapter describes income-pooling as the mechanism at the basis of the economic reproduction of peasant families, and the one that accounts for the permanence of landless families in the countryside.

This pattern of family earnings is compared with the pattern of family organization of consumption. Two main types of expenses are analyzed: expenses derived from socializing activities (drinking and gambling), and expenses derived from education of children. These expenses are both sufficiently diffused among the peasant population so as to be regarded as representative, and at the same time to some extent 'new', a product of new patterns of socialization developed in the second half of the 18th century.

Earnings made by family members were internally redistributed according to needs defined by certain criteria, that in fact worked as a filter between wage earning and consumption.

This chapter also analyses the different mechanisms of distribution of family resources, and argues that preindustrial peasant families were non-cooperative but hierarchical units of production and consumption. This hierarchy is traceable through two channels: a cultural tradition that defined men as superior to women and thus having a natural right to hold power over women, and a material situation, by which women were expected to work

unpaid for men, particularly those of their families, producing goods and services,

Factors external to the family were also fundamental in shaping the way in which a supply of labour developed. The transformation of the organization of labour existing in mid-18th century (promoted by the Enlightenment thinkers and carried on through legislation and State initiatives) was perceived by contemporaries as one of the main elements of the country's modernization. The definition of a new model of working (peasant) family illustrates the new social order. Ideology is compared with market behaviour in an attempt to identify possible connections: wage labour took place within a framework of wage differentials and division of tasks between men and women.

Chapter IV describes the main changes that took place in these three economies from mid-18th century to the end of the 19th century, focusing on the organization of labour, and describes it as based on the dichotomy of labour inside and outside the labour market.

The fact that individuals were defined according to their family place (wives, husbands, prospective wives, prospective husbands), seems to have been increasingly both relevant and general in shaping individuals' access to wage labour.

The thesis concludes, first, that the formation of a supply of labour did not entail the conversion of the entire population into wage workers.

Second, was not a mere response to a demand for labour. In other words, pertinence of individuals to one of the two groups was not casual. identify women as the social group that remained outside and men as the group who became wage workers. This was so because the work organization existing before labour markets was organized in this way. And the traditions (work and cultural traditions) behind this new development.

Sources

Four main types of sources has been used in this thesis: local archives, provincial archives, the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) and secondary sources.

The basis for the research have been the local archives of each of the three towns analyzed. Where they exist, Spanish municipal archives are under the control of municipal towns. They are usually not the predominant source of concern for the small group of members of the town council, some of whom are not even sure of whether an archive exists in their village. In any case, there is no such thing as a professional, paid person in charge of the archives, which sometimes have never been visited by a researcher before. The quality and amount of the documentation, and the material conditions in which it is kept, varied very much. The conditions of access depend almost entirely on the historian's personal ability to get the responsible person's acceptance, a circumstance that leads to interesting experiences.

My fortune has been very different in the three cases. Access to the archive of Vega de Pas (Santander) never presented problems, although the documentation is not catalogued (only ordered in boxes). The archive is under the responsibility of the Asociación de estudios pasiegos, and includes documentation on the other two Pasiego villages. I am indebted to its curator, Doña Cristina Navarro Diego, and to its director, Doctor Don Manuel Oria, both pasiegos, for their constant help and generosity in unveiling clues of the Pasiego geography, history and culture for me.

Access to the Archivo municipal de Almagro proved impossible until very late in the thesis, despite the repeated attempts over a protracted period of time. The richest of the three municipal archives, under the control of a local historian who was also a member of the town council until the local elections of June 1995, it has abundant information on the topics and periods here dealt with that I have not been able to consult.

The Archivo Municipal de Rute has much documentation, but is not completely catalogued. Located in a basement next to the offices of the Rute's local police, its material conditions indicate that no one is expected to visit it. Only the personal effort of Don Bartolomé García Jiménez, historian and native of Rute, has put some order on it and makes its visit not a complete waste.

The organization of the state's network of Archivos Histórico Provinciales (AHP) has helped to compensate for the many problems and deficiencies of local

archives. The documentation relative to the Catastro de Ensenada, the main source used in chapter I and II, forms an entire section in the provincial archives. I have worked in the AHP of Santander and Córdoba, but the AHP of Ciudad Real has been particularly useful: I have consulted there the documentation from the Catastro corresponding to Almagro, Granátula, Pozuelo, Aldea del rey, Bolaños, Valenzuela, Carrión, Torralba, Calzada, Daimiel, Puertollano, Villamayor, Almodóvar del campo, Argamasilla, Mestanza, Villar del Pozo, Caracuel, Cañada de Moral and Corral, that is, all the towns and villages of the Campo de Calatrava.

Other archives used for this research have been the Archivo Municipal de Espinosa de los Monteros (Burgos), the town of which Pasiegos were dependants before the 17th century, where there are documents relative to the traditional occupation of Pasiego women in dairying and its commercialization; the Archivo de Villa (Madrid), where there is documentation on trade licenses of Pasiego store keepers and peddlars; the Archive of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Madrid, where I have found documentation on 18th century projects of lace schools and lace factories (but very few mentions to Almagro lace).

Research in other archives permit me to conclude that there was no documentation of interest for this research. These are the Archivo del Palacio Real (Madrid) and the Archivo del Puerto de Santander, where I was hoping to find documentation on 19th century imports of cattle (to find out that it was all destroyed during the Civil War).

The third main source has been the Archivo Nacional, in Madrid. In its section "Consejos", the Archive holds the documentation regarding every conflict, question, or petition that arrived to the government *ordered by the name of the town or village* that originated it. As the three cases this thesis deals with belonged to the crown of Castile, the information is kept in the sub section Consejo de Castilla, sala de gobierno. This organ of government functioned since mid-18th century to the 1830's. I have looked at every document from any of the towns of my interest, Almagro, Rute and the three Pasiego villages (Nuestra Señora de la Vega, the old name of Vega de Pas, San Pedro del Romeral and San



Roque de Riomiera), as well as many others of Campo de Calatrava.

These documents transmit a good picture of what the government knew about these places, and what these places wanted the government to know about them. They illuminate what were the main problems of the 18th and first decades of the 19th centuries in peasant Spain: grain shortages, the plowing of new land, uses of communal land, the Church's intervention in local matters, or heavy taxation, but also with contraband, schools, as well as with petitions from private individuals who solicited, for instance, a license to work as teachers, claimed their right to be called *Don*, complained about the mayor's abuses or announced the creation of a new religious fraternity.

Last, in the three cases I have made extensive use of secondary sources, benefiting from the abundance of local historical studies developed in Spain in the last years. The Pasiego area has attracted the interest of anthropologists and geographers, but not that of historians; for the Campo de Calatrava there are monographies on some villages and short studies on aspects of the history of Almagro by local historians (organised through conferences). The case of Rute is especially worth mentioning, for the accurate works of Bartolomé García Jiménez on the demography of the modern period of this town have provided a solid basis for the part of my research on Rute.

Being born in Madrid of urban parents, my knowledge of peasants and peasant Spain was very limited when I started this research. Yet I wanted to describe how work was organized two hundred years ago and the main changes that this organization of work had gone through. During the last years I have lived and done research during short periods in three very different regions, seeing women and men and children pressing olives, milking cows, spinning, making lace, plowing, washing clothes, feeding animals, raising poultry, harvesting, carrying wood, making coal, playing cards, knitting, baking bread, drinking at the bars, talking to me, remembering, telling me the names of their animals and tools. They have been my best source.

I. THREE PEASANT ECONOMIES, 18TH TO 19TH CENTURIES.

POPULATION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

1. Montes de Pas. The physical and historical setting

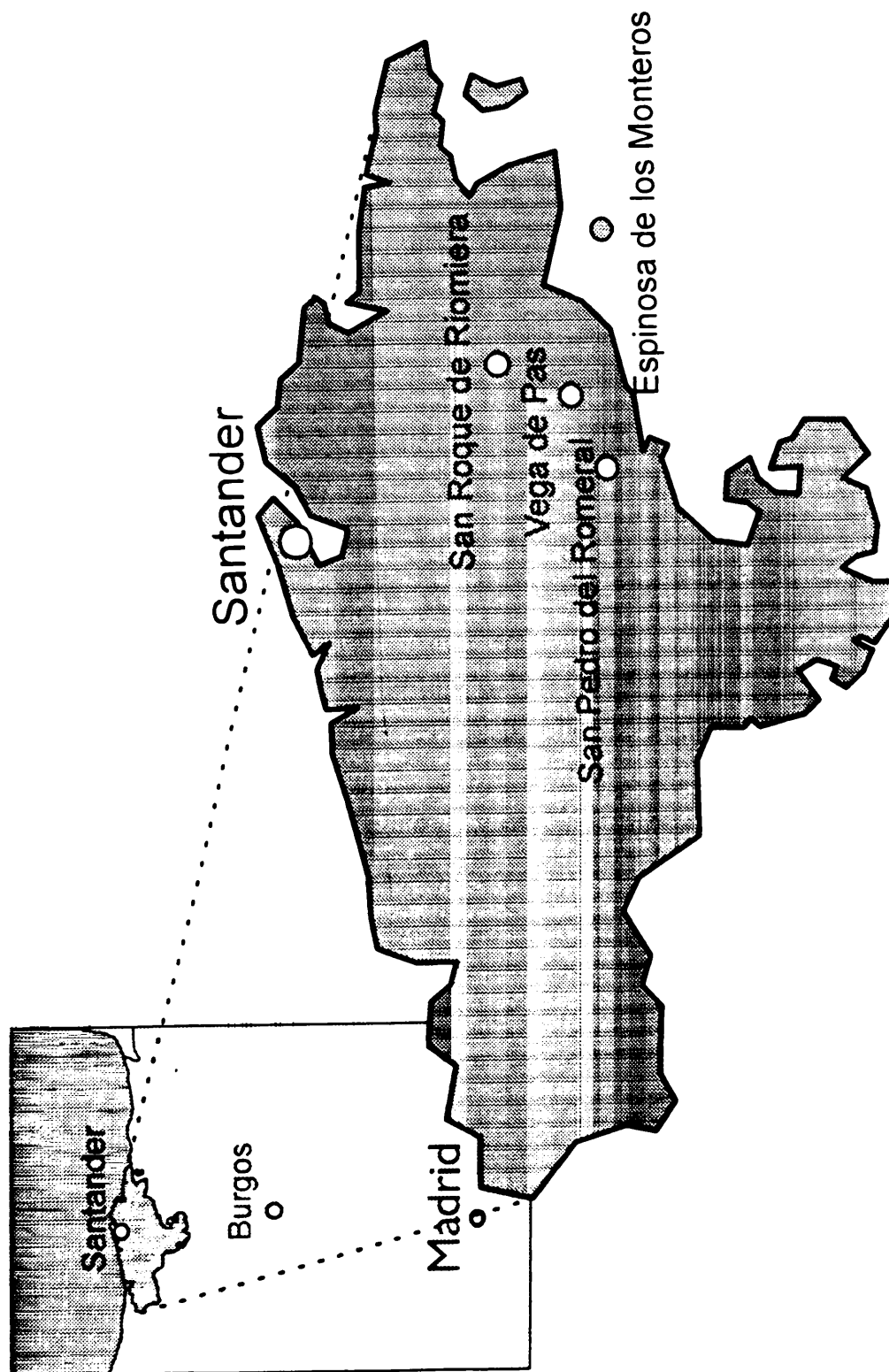
The Montes de Pas "lies on the northern slopes of the Cantabrian mountains facing the Atlantic Ocean and the port city of Santander (...) the mountain crests which form the divide between coastal and inland Spain" ⁵³. It is formed by three villages, of which two, San Roque de Riomiera and San Pedro del Romeral, are in high lands, and the center, Vega de Pas, in the valley formed by the river Pas. The difficult access to this small, mountainous region has contributed to maintaining the distinctive Pasiego economy and way of life ⁵⁴.

La Vega is divided into 7 parts, the Casco or urban nucleus around the plaza, and 6 barrios which correspond to geographical and socially separate entities. The highest barrios "embrace territories varying in altitude from about 360 m. or lower at the mouth of the tributaries, to well over 1.000 m. in the highest utilized meadows, whose altitudes are fairly well represented by the figures given for the major passes at the mountain crests -- 1.116 m. at the Estacas de Trueba (Yera and Pandillo) and rising along the Pandillo crests toward San Roque and the Lunada Pass there, which stands at 1.350 m."

The territory is organized around forest and meadows, which in turn are described according to altitude. There are

⁵³ S. Tax Freeman, Pasiegos. Spaniards in No Man's Land, p. xviii. The description that follows is Freeman's.

⁵⁴ The fact that Pasiego people lived in the mountains, the distinctiveness of their dialect and uses, and their general distrust towards valley peoples, feed the myth of a "pueblo maldito". Their scarce contacts with the Catholic practice, due to their pattern of disperse settlement, made that their "difference" was interpreted in terms of a non-Catholic, --i.e., Jewish or Moorish-- people. In the nearby valleys and cities, Pasiegos were kept apart (for instance, they had to occupy the last rows in the churches). This explains the interest that Pasiego people has arised among anthropologists and dialectologists, authors of most of the works on Pasiegos.



three basic altitudinal zones between which pastures are distributed; the higher the zone, the lower the esteem in which it is held. The branizas, the high summer pastures, are held to be almost frightening for the isolation which they impose (...) from pueblos, settled centers, which are in most instances at least two and a half hours distant by foot (...) (the presence of animals can lengthen any of these journeys by as much as 50 percent) (...). The closer a pradera (meadow-cluster) is to a town center, the more habitable it becomes by Pasiego standards. Thus, almost all of the praderas selected for settlement by retired people, or by herders who for other reasons do not practice transhumance, are located in the ribera, or valley-bottom zone.

Table I. 1. shows this spatial organization by barrios and altitudes.

Table I.1. Spatial organization of the barrios in La Vega ⁵⁵

Place	Distance from center (km.)	Altitude (m.)	Ribera (%)	Ladder (%)	Braniza (%)
Pandillo	3,5	534	18,2	31,6	50,1
Yera	2,5	569	33,2	26,8	40,2
Viaña	3,0	548	22,1	44,7	33,2
Candolías	1,3	410	63,8	23,5	12,7
La Gurueba	5,0	241	21,2	34,0	44,8
Guzparras	7,0	514	—	—	100,0
Casco	—	358	100,0	—	—

Differences in altitude and distance from the Casco (which was the center of economic and social life, with the church, the market's site, the town council and the tavern) explain different life-styles, which range from diet (only lowest barrios had orchards, and even today their residents tend to eat more vegetables than those of highest barrios) to patterns of marriage, occupation and emigration.

San Roque de Riomiera and San Pedro del Romeral are much smaller towns, with a very small center formed by some twenty houses, the church, the town council, and the rest of their population disseminated through their large territories.

⁵⁵ Tax Freeman, op.cit., p. 29, 30 and 45.

2. Population, 1752-1880

Sources used here to establish the population of the Montes are the Cadaster of Ensenada (1752), and later censuses. As part of the effort made by the bourgeoisie of the city of Santander to obtain administrative independence from Burgos, economic and demographic data was collected in the first decades of the 19th century to prove to the central authorities the importance of the region. A document from the 1830's showing the evolution of the population in the province includes data for the three Pasiego towns. It mentions five sources that are unknown to us today: a census roll of 1797, the Town Councils' censuses of 1822, a census organized by the military in that same year of 1822 (in Table II as 1822 b), a census collected by the Police in 1828, and an undated military census of around 1835. A last source is the 1877 census, which exists only for Vega de Pas, the main of the three towns.

These data have been completed with the 1877 census that exists for Vega de Pas and is kept at the local archive.

Before the 1877 census, sources provide only the number of householders. The question of the coefficient to be used in order to obtain a realistic figure of the total population has been a much debated one. Bustelo proposed a coefficient of 4,5 for the second half of the 18th century.⁵⁶

Table I. 2 has incorporated this coefficient to obtain the total figures for Pasiego population also because the first census we have with the figure of inhabitants, the census of 1877 of Vega de Pas gives 2.170 individuals and 487 households, which makes 4, 46 individuals per household.

⁵⁶ Bustelo, "La población española en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII", p. 91.

Table I. 2. Population of Montes de Pas (householders) ⁵⁷

	1752	1797	1822	1828	1835	1877
San Roque	292	247	249	249	247	
Vega de Pas	648	600	601	537	601	487
San Pedro	427	389	372	380	390	
Total	1.367	1.236	1.222	1.166	1.238	
Inhabitants (4,5)	6.151	5.562	5.499	5.247	5.571	

Female heads of households were excluded. We know, for instance, that in San Pedro there was a total of 544 householders, of which 92 were women (17 %) and 25 were also residents elsewhere. ⁵⁸

A certain degree of under recording, given the difficulties of gaining access to such a disperse population, is likely to have occurred. In fact, contemporary travellers made higher estimates of the Pasiego population. In 1791 Jovellanos wrote in a report that some 15.000 people lived in the Pasiego mountains. Visiting the royal shipyard in nearby La Cavada, he was explained to by the engineers there how Pasiego men, women and children carried on their shoulders the coal needed by the factory. Jovellanos deduced from their explanations that "having multiplied by their frugality and strength" they were forced to accept any possibility of income. ⁵⁹

In any case, the isolated and dispersed population pattern of the region,

⁵⁷ "Razón de los vecinos que tiene la Provincia de Santander con arreglo al Padrón hecho en el año de 1797, formación de Ayuntamientos y para la Quinta en el de 1822, el hecho por la Policía en el de 1828 y el censo para las Milicias de Laredo; con el mayor número que por dhos cinco Estados resulta tener cada Jurisdicción", in Papeles varios referentes a la conveniencia de separar de la provincia de Burgos las villas y lugares q. actualmente componen la de Santander, a la división de ésta en partidos y corregimientos y al número de vecinos que tenía, según diferentes padrones, etc. Santander, Biblioteca Menendez Pelayo, section Manuscritos, Ms.227, folio 17.

⁵⁸ Ramón Arroyo, "Noticias inéditas de la villa de San Pedro del Romeral", p. 305.

⁵⁹ "Draft of the informe reservado", in letter to D. Antonio Valdés, 7 sept. 1791, Obras, BAE, vol.IV, p.179- 180.



that must have made it extremely difficult for census officials to have an exact count, gives credence to the possibility of a higher population.

What can also be deduced from these figures is the evolution of this population. As will be clear from the high degree of accuracy with which the Cadaster of 1752 was collected, the figures for that year are the more reliable ones of this series. Even if the figures for the following years are not equally accurate, it seems clear that Pasiego mountains lost population during the 19th century, especially during the second half. A consideration of the property system, and of the inheritance system, consisting of a pure egalitarian partition among the children, could help to explain this trend.

3. The property system: the family farm.

I have analyzed the structure of the property in mid 18th-century in one of the three Pasiego villages, San Roque de Riomiera.⁶⁰

The problems inherent in the identification of the number and location of farms echo the problems encountered by attempts to identify the number of householders. Owning farms in nearby towns (and moving to them in some periods of the year) was not infrequent for Pasiego families. As San Roque householders declared to the officials of the Cadaster:

in this said Town there are Two Hundred and eighty one Householders and sixty five Widows, and of these the One Hundred and sixty nine and a Half (...) are Householders in the neighbourhoods of Valdezio and Calseca, Valley of Sova, Ruesga, Miera, Renierto, Lierganes, Penagos, Cayón, Llerana, Varzena de Carriedo, Selaya de Carriedo and Villa de Espinosa de los Monteros, in which in different times of the Year they live and feed their cattle in the respective properties which in the said

⁶⁰ The Cadaster correspondent to San Roque was consulted in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santander, section Ensenada, book 803. The correspondent to Vega de Pas was in three volumes, of which two existed until some years ago in the Town Council of La Vega, and were microfilmed by Arnaldo Leal, of the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, who has worked on the origins of the Pasiego settlement and the Pasiego dialect. One of these books is now missing, so my reconstruction of the data of La Vega's Cadaster is based in consultation of the third book (in Archivo del Museo de las Villas Pasiegas), a fotocopiéd version of the second, and a extrapolation of the first based on the data from the second and third.

Table I. 3. Land ownership, San Roque de Riomiera, 1752

Plazas (*)	Owners farmers (%)		Owners non residents (%)		Owners Total	
0-4	6	2,0	1	1,2	7	1,9
5-19	28	9,6	32	38,5	60	16,0
20-49	119	40,7	36	43,4	155	41,3
50-79	80	27,4	1	13,3	91	24,2
80-99	33	11,3	1	1,2	34	9,0
100 and more	26	8,9	2	2,4	28	7,5
Total	292	99,9	83	100	375	99,9

(*) One plaza = 311 m².

There was a total of 375 owners of pastures in San Roque, of which 292 (78%) defined themselves as farmers ("labradores"), householders resident in the village, while 83 (22%) were residents elsewhere.

Each family owned between 4 and 5 meadows, each of them with a cabaña, the herder's combined home and stable. In San Pedro, families normally held between three and four of them. The number of plots depended not so much on the family's wealth, but on its working capacity, for Pasiego farms were run almost exclusively by family workers.

Productive basis: cattle breeding

Pronounced altitudinal variation of the land made its cultivation very difficult. By mid-18th century, only in the lower parts of the valley around La Vega were some corn and vegetables being grown in the orchards kept for family

⁶¹ AHPS, Ensenada, libro 803, folio 17 vuelto.

consumption. The rest of the soil was devoted to pasture, the main activity of Pasiego villages being herding. At the end of the 19th century, extension of meadows had further expanded, as a result of the region's complete specialization in cattle breeding.⁶²

Table I. 4. San Roque de Riomiera. Uses of land ⁶³

	1752	1885
Crops	5,5	2,2
Meadows	94,5	97,8

Some evidence exists on agricultural crops, but is always very limited. In San Pedro del Romeral, the third of the Pasiego villages, the Municipal Regulations, dated 1692, mention the householders' obligation to "plant a flax extension every year, as well as a fruit tree." Given that the regulations added "according to the laws of the Kingdom that treat on this", it is difficult to know to which extent this was the mere repetition of a fashionable state attempt to expand the collection of flax and fruits, or responded to a local reality.

Some space was always devoted to forest. Yet its extent varied greatly over time, depending mainly on whether wood or coal was needed by the army or not.

The structure of land property revealed by the distribution of pasture is consistent with the livestock ownership:

62 "No great resource is found in agriculture; maize is cultivated in this canton, and a considerable quantity of cattle are fattened on the excellent pastures afforded by the valleys and mountains.", Alexander de Laborde, View of Spain, comprising a descriptive itinerary of each province, and a general statistical account of the country, vol.I, p. 394.

63 M. J. Echevarría, La organización del espacio en el municipio de San Roque de Riomiera (1752), quoted by Domínguez Martín, "Sociedad rural y reproducción de las economías familiares en el Norte de España, 1800-1860", in Le Play, Campesinos y pescadores del norte de España.

Table I. 6. San Roque de Riomiera. Farms with cows

	N	%
With no cows	16	5,5
With cows		
1 cow	15	5,1
2 -4	139	47,6
5 -9	108	37,0
10 and more	14	4,8
Total	292	100,0

94,5% of San Roque families owned at least one head of cattle, 84,6 % owning between 1 and 10. 90,4% owned also goats or sheep. 162 families (55,5%) had goats and sheep, generally 5 to 8 head. 127 neighbours (43,4% of the total), had "a pig for their consumption", and 30 of them had two (one had three). Twelve of them also declared the property of pigs "to raise" or "to sell" (usually one or two, only in one case three). Among these were the two members of the Church, each of whom was the owner of two pigs for their own consumption, and one owned three more to sell.

Production of poultry is difficult to trace back, since the Catastro did not include it. Neither was it part of the *diezmo*, the tax collected by the Church.⁶⁴ But there are references to its importance as part of family economy and diet. There were also 83 beehives in the village, corresponding to 28 owners, of which the main one was the priest with 8.

These natural conditions did not permit self sufficiency. Some corn, a few orchards and pastures is all that San Roque householders declared in 1753. So Pasiego people developed a highly specialized economy based on cattle breeding and dairy production.

⁶⁴ They are mentioned in the answer to question 15: "se paga el diezmo al respecto de Diezuno excepto de la Yerba segadia, enjambres, Pollos, Lana, Queso y Manteca Que deesto no se diezma Cosa alguna segun costumbre y Practica Ymmemorial..." AHPS, Ensenada, libro 803, folio 12 recto.

To take advantage of the highest pastures, each family had from 4 to 10 plots spread through the mountains and moved their cattle from one to another so that the animals always had fresh grass. Moves between the meadows, called mudas, took place every few weeks, depending on the number of meadows the family owned, and the relation between number of cows and the size of the meadow. The period of the year also had an influence, in summer the families moving every two or even one week, while in winter they could stay at the vividora for as long as 3 months.

Although mudas permitted Pasiego people to maximize the yield of their meadows, feeding their cows in the best condition, and hence improving the quality of the meat and milk produced, the system demanded constant mobility of men, women and children. It also made their lives extremely hard. Only the periods spent in the plots near the town meant some lightening of this hardship, carrying water and walking to the markets requiring less time, and there were some more opportunities for social life, possibilities for children to attend school.

The same natural conditions that had forced them to specialize on cattle breeding made them dependent on the market to buy the products (grain, wine, textiles) they lacked and to sell the very few that their land produced.

Productive basis: dairy production

Pasiego cheese and butter became known for their quality, and are known to have been consumed by noble families and even the Royal Palace. But evidence on dairying is very fragmented: being a female form of domestic production, it has traditionally been seen as a complement to cattle breeding, the main occupation, and as a consequence not reported in the censuses. Pasiego householders did not report dairying to the Cadaster officials, so we have to rely on data from the markets, where Pasiego cheese and butter were sold, and on literary or journalistic references.

There is evidence of dairying as a Pasiego activity already in the 16th century, when Pasiego women used to go to Espinosa de los Monteros, miles away, to sell their cheeses and butter.

At least from the beginning of the 19th century, the town of Santander, miles from La Vega, was another important market for Pasiego dairy production. Pasiego women were identified there as sellers of these products, and their cheese and butter appear in the monthly lists of prices as "queso de Pasiegas" and "manteca de Pasiegas". Chapter IV deals with the evolution of the Pasiego economic activities in the 19th century, when other specialties based on the use of milk, such as cakes made with butter and baked, also developed.

Dairy was the most natural way of adding value to the main Pasiego production. It also developed as a consequence of long distances to the markets, which rendered impossible the transportation of milk. Honey, and wood instruments for the cattle, were sold in the local markets as well. Travellers described men and women walking down from the Pasiego towns, helping themselves with long sticks, to the valley markets. All transport was made "a costilla", in big carrying baskets called cuévanos, carried on their backs. In the depositions made by San Roque householders, only 8 of 292 declared to own a horse or mare "for the government of their cattle", among them the town clerk (escribano), the tavern keeper and some of the main cattle owners. No mule, donkey, or ox was reported.

The nearest market took place every Sunday morning in the plaza of Vega de Pas after mass. Pasiegos were also present at markets in the near valleys and urban centers such as Santander, Reinosa or Burgos.

In conclusion, in mid-18th century the Pasiego economy was based on: a) a specialization on cattle breeding under a mixed regime of pasture and stable, system that demanded the periodical move of the herd, b) a multiplicity of complementary activities, many of which also demanded moves, like marketing of products in local and urban markets, temporary migrations, etc, and c) family farms as productive units, with a labour system based on the maximization of family labour resources and the internal division of labour.

2. Campo de Calatrava

la première ville qui se présente au bord de la Guadiana, est Calatrava, située aux frontières de l'Extremadure & de la Mancha. Elle est célèbre à cause de l'Ordre de Chevalerie qui en port le nom, et qui fut établi l'An 1163 par Sanche III lors qu'il donna cette ville à des chevaliers, pour la garder contre les Mores (...) A deux lieues de Ciudad-Real, tirant au sud-Est, est Almagro, gros bourg ou petite ville, la principale de ce quartier de Pays, qu'on nomme Campo de Calatrava. Elle est située dans une plaine fort fertile (...) Les rues en sont assez belles; les Maitres de l'Ordre de Calatrava, qui y avoient autrefois mis leur siège, l'ont embellie de palais et de divers bâtimens, & lui ont acordé plusieurs beaux privilèges. (...) Miguelturna situé dans une plaine extrêmement fertile en blé, en vin, & en huile, où l'on nourrit une fort grande quantité de troupeaux ⁶⁵.

Almagro is the center of the Campo de Calatrava, a region in the plains of La Mancha, on the way from Madrid to Andalucía. Its hard climate and its depopulation were the two features that most travellers recorded.

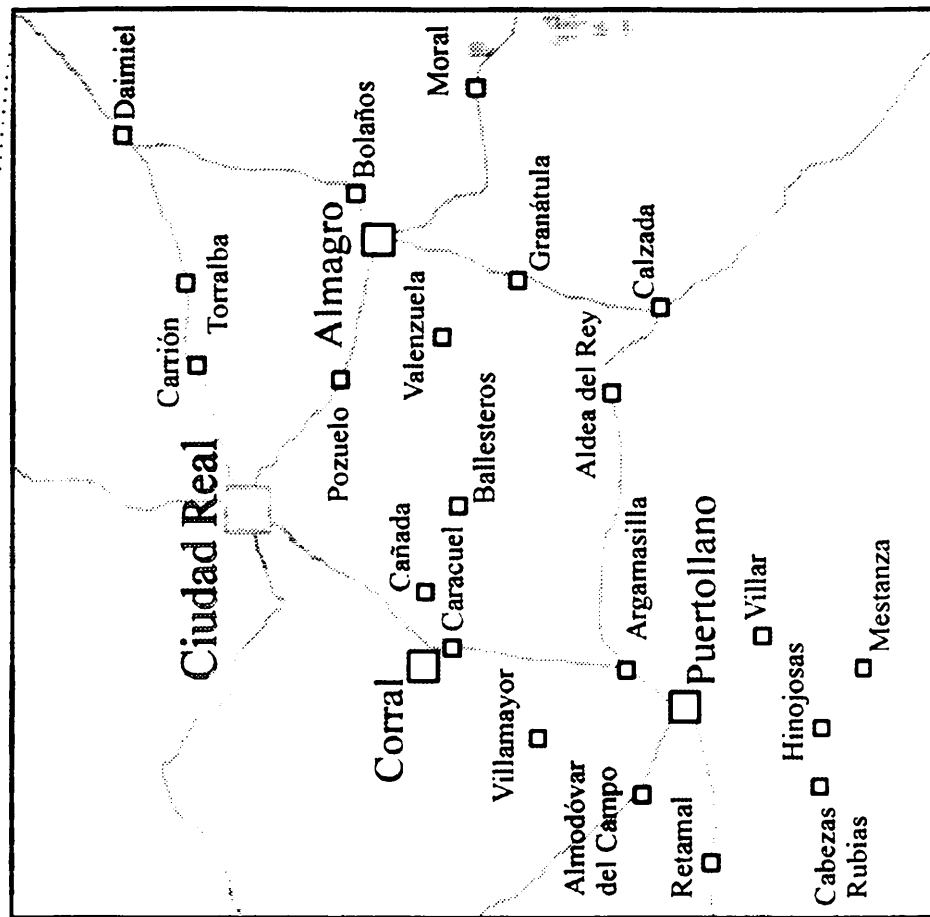
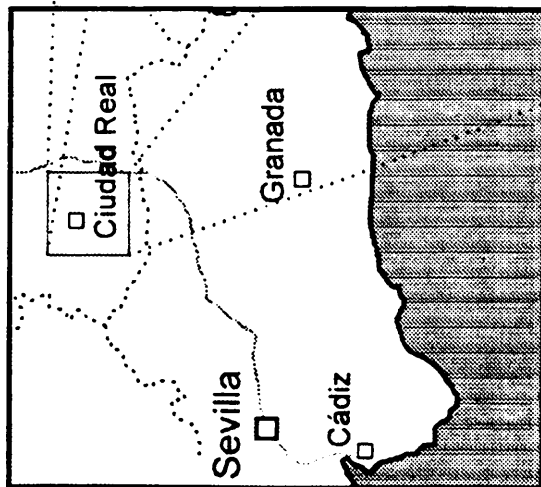
"Once in the Manchegan plain, a traveller might look in all directions without seeing a hill, a gully, or even a sign of human habitation. The climate too was given to extremes, unlike the temperate south. Isolated by its mountainous borders, the plain of La Mancha experienced cold winters, very hot summers, and a notable lack of precipitation.

The discerning traveller, nonetheless, could appreciate the real and potential sources of wealth behind La Mancha's desolate exterior. The soil was very hospitable to vines, grain and olive trees, and natural grasses flourished on all but the worst lands. In addition, La Mancha was the southern terminus for several of the famous sheepwalks of Castile, where herds of the Mesta rented fall and winter pasture" ⁶⁶.

La Mancha's "desolate exterior" was largely due to its historical background, to the fact that its land was divided into large estates, owned by absentee proprietors, and that this had prevented population settlements. A large

⁶⁵ Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, où on voit une description exacte des Antiquitez, des Provinces, des Montagnes, des Villes, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar (1715), vol. 2, pp. 359-360.

⁶⁶ C. Rahn Phillips, Ciudad Real, 1500-1750. Growth, Crisis and Adjustment in the Spanish economy, p. 4.



part of La Mancha's land was granted by the Crown to the military orders in the 12th and 13th centuries, as a reward for its support in the wars against the moors. Almagro developed as a town and the capital of the Campo de Calatrava, granted by the Crown to the military order of Calatrava. ⁶⁷

The area included 14 towns with over 1. 000 inhabitants, 5 of which with more than 3. 000. It represents the characteristic pattern of urbanization of La Mancha and the latifundia area, based on a structure of three types of settlement, which in turn reflected the structure of property, concentrated in the hands of a few noble families and religious orders. First there were large, semi urban settlements, distant from each other, developed around the landlords' palaces and convents. Second, smaller nuclei of some hundreds of inhabitants, developed to shelter agricultural and stock workers (artisans, servants, agricultural workers) and small landowners. In the last place, some very small nuclei in the middle of some seigneurial demesnes, called *quinterias*, only inhabited by few families, working year round for that land owner.

Table I. 7. Evolution of the region's density, 18th century

H/Km2		H/Km2	
-----	-----	-----	-----
1712	5,72	1773	8,50
1751	7,63	1787	9,13
1768	7,99	1797	9,50

Population has traditionally concentrated in the NE plains, where densities of over 25 H/Km2 are not uncommon and even some towns, such as Almagro and Miguelturra, have a higher rate (see map). To the W extends a huge semi-desert area where only the mining area around Almadén is remarkable. To the S, the hilly area around Almodóvar, where the soil was

67 R. Maldonado y Cocat, Almagro, cabeza de la Orden y Campo de Calatrava, p.18.

hardly suitable for agriculture, had one of the lowest densities of La Mancha.

The limits of the region have changed over time. In mid-18th century it included 23 towns and villages, belonging to the Calatrava Order. When one century later Madoz published his famous Diccionario and described lace making as the main industrial activity of the region, he included a list of 24 villages where there were people working for the lace factory of Almagro which, with few exceptions, coincided with the traditional boundaries of the Campo de Calatrava. In order to establish the continuity of this manufacture and its existence before mid-19th century as a proto-industry, the limits of the area studied have been set following Madoz' mid-nineteenth century account of the lace-making area.

2.a. Population, 1750-1880

The demographic evolution of the region during the 18th century can be described through the following sources: first, for 1752, the Cadaster itself; for 1768 the Censo del conde de Aranda; ⁶⁸ for 1787 the Censo of Floridablanca. The two first registered householders, which again poses the problem of the coefficient in order to obtain the total number of inhabitants. López-Salazar, who has carefully studied the population of La Mancha in the 18th century, gives a coefficient of 4 to convert householders into inhabitants. ⁶⁹

For the 19th century, the best source is the census of 1846 as published by Madoz in his Diccionario. According to this source the population evolved as follows:

⁶⁸ For 1768 and 1787, López-Salazar, "La Mancha según el censo del Conde de Aranda (1768-1769)", Cuadernos de Estudios Manchegos, 5, 1974.

⁶⁹ J. López-Salazar, "Evolución demográfica de La Mancha en el siglo XVIII", Hispania, 133, 1976, pp.232-292. This coincides with the coefficient proposed by Bustelo for Spain.

Table I. 8. Population of the Campo de Calatrava, inhabitants.

	1751	1768	1787	1846
Almagro	8.865	8.898	9.225	12.605
Granátula	2.326	2.105	2.036	2.025
Pozuelo	1.575	2.322 ?	1.574	2.240
Aldea del Rey	--	1.300	1.235	1.650
Bolaños	--	1.423	1.570	
Valenzuela	481	522	1.088	1.240
Carrión	--	1.932	1.991	3,130
Torralba	2.250	2.380	2.407	3.980
Calzada	4.500	4.423	3.617	3.840
Daimiel	6.750	7.091	9.089	12.355
Puertollano	3.559	2.090	3.131	2.520
Villamayor	811	---	962	1.115
Almodóvar	4.284	3.063	4.418	
Argamasilla	1.260	---	1.293	
Mestanza	2.056	1.430	1.895	2.160
Ballesteros	---	540	441	
Cabezarrubias	---	437	---	
Cañada	189	252	230	390
Caracuel	157	171	82	260
Corral	1.081	1.181	1.096	1.315
Hinojosas		388	---	
Moral		3.176	3.178	4.120
Villar		152		

During the 18th century, the population followed the pattern of stability that has been described as characteristic of the Spanish population as a whole.

Some evidence of a slight decline between 1768 and 1787 was probably due to the fact that the Floridablanca census was collected in the last months of 1786, when the epidemic of fevers that had desolated Spain was still active in La Mancha.⁷⁰ As a result, "an increase of the population of hardly a fourth of the

⁷⁰ Sánchez Salazar, *Ibidem*, p.244.

total national increase" has been found for the whole region of La Mancha ⁷¹.

The region's growth until that year (1786) was lower than 30%, except in towns such as Almadén or Calzada. Some emigration to these towns, due to their proximity to the Sierra Morena lands where the Government was fostering repopulation, could have been the cause.

At the beginning of the 19th century, during the war against the Napoleonic armies, hunger and illness provoked by poor harvests and requisitions produced a devastating effect on the population of Almagro ⁷².

In the second half of the 19th century Almagro increased its population along with the rest of the towns. Bolaños and Calzada de Calatrava increased their population by 42% and 50%, respectively ⁷³.

López Salazar gives the distribution by sex and age of the population of Campo de Calatrava (54 places around Ciudad Real including all but four of the 24 places mentioned by Madoz) in 1768.

Table I. 9. Sex and age distribution of the population, 1768.

Ages	Men	Women	Sex ratio
Up to 7.....	10. 941	10. 183	107
7 to 16.....	10. 058	9. 266	108,5
16 to 25.....	7. 849	8. 316	94,3
25 to 40.....	9. 974	10. 473	95,2
40 to 50.....	5. 680	5. 882	96,5
Over 50.....	5. 305	6.364	83,3

⁷¹ López Salazar, *Ibidem*, p.106. From 1712 to 1787, the Spanish population increased by 34,1%.

⁷² In 1809 abandoned children were so numerous that the City Council had hired 56 wet nurses, who had become 161 in 1815, to feed them. Sánchez-López, "La población", p.34.

⁷³ López-Sánchez, *art.cit.*, p.36.

The sex ratio for the Campo de Calatrava can also be compared with the rates for nearer regions and Spain as a whole.

Table I. 10. Regional and national sex ratios, 1768.

Ages	Calatrava	Alcaraz	Infantes	Spain
Up to 7	107	109	97,1	102
7 to 16	108,5	113,7	108,6	
16 to 25	94,3	87,6	92,3	
25 to 40	95,2	97,1	99,5	
40 to 50	96,5	104	110,6	
Over 50	83,3	102,6	107,1	95

The sexual imbalance not only appears in the age groups where figures for Spain as a whole show this tendency (from 7 onwards) but in ages in which the national tendency was the reverse. The contrast between Campo de Calatrava and the nearby areas is also remarkable. These figures could of course indicate a relationship between an area of lace production, a female activity, and a distinctive demographic pattern caused either by a) female emigration, b) male out migration, or c) both. Further evidence is in any case needed.

In the first of these years the structure of the population by age and marital status was as follows:

Table I. 11. Campo de Calatrava. Structure of the population, 1768

age	Unmarried		Married		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-7	875	728	--	--	875	728
7-16	872	836	5	5	877	841
16-25	515	516	159	220	674	736
25-40	223	248	631	708	854	956
40-50	117	169	406	383	523	552
+ 50	203	406	380	293	583	699
Total	2.805	2.903	1.581	1.609	4.386	4.512

	Men	%	Women	%	Total
non married	2.805	60,7	2.903	63,2	5.708
married	1.581	34,2	1.609	35,0	3.190
Total	4.386		4.512		8.898
eclesiastic	232	5,0	81	1,8	313
Total	4.618	100,0	4.593	100,0	9.211

2. b. The property system

Land property mainly in the hands of the military Order of Calatrava, and stock rising as the main activity define the main features of the economic structure of the Campo de Calatrava prior to changes in the property system that occurred in the 19th century. Rather than natural vocations, they were historical consequences of the reorganization and repopulation of the region after the wars against the moors, which was entrusted in the 12th and 13th centuries to the Military Orders.

The Calatrava Order had received in 1189 the first lands to raise its herds of cattle and sheep. The Order proceeded to the repopulation of the region during the 13th and 14th centuries, assigning small plots to the "pobladores", and retaining ownership of the rest of the land and of taxation and other seigneurial rights, initiating a policy of privileges to the settlers, so as to foster the establishment of commercial and agricultural activities.

By mid 18th century the order had no longer property rights in the region. The land was in the hands of some noble families and, as will be described later, some enriched merchants.

There were four main types of land: dry or "secano" lands, irrigated or "regadío" lands, lands planted with olive trees, and lands devoted to vines. Combinations of two of these crops were not uncommon: lands devoted to grain could have some olive trees aligned; combination of olive trees and vines was frequent.

Table I. 12. Almagro, 1752. Distribution of land ownership ⁷⁴

Landowners	Irrigated land				Dry				Total	
	plots	%	extension	%	plots	%	extension	%	plots	extension
secular	415	56,8	1.156,2	63	1.837	62,8	15.194,5	56,2	2.252	16.350,7
ecclesiastic	335	45,2	680	37	1.090	37,2	11.853	43,8	1.425	12.533
total	740	100	1.836,2	100	2.927	100	27.047,5	100	3.677	28.883,7

The ecclesiastical population owned 37 % of the irrigated lands, and 43,8 % of the dry lands. As we will see in the next chapter, this large ownership of Almagro land by the ecclesiastical individuals and institutions had a fundamental importance in structuring the local work organization, for religious institutions run their properties as enterprises, based on waged labour.

Large proprietors devoted their lands to commercial crops. Three were the main marketable crops suitable for Manchego soil: grain, vineyards and olive trees.

But the main product of the region was not agricultural but livestock. Specialization in livestock explains why La Mancha had the lowest rate of surface devoted to agriculture in the 18th century (27, 69 % of its total surface, when the median for Castile was 45,8 % ⁷⁵).

As regards the structure of livestock ownership, data recorded by the Cadaster reinforces the notion of a powerful ecclesiastical community in Almagro.

⁷⁴ Local measures were cuerda and celemin. 1 cuerda= 12 celemines. One cuerda was equivalent to 5.599 m².

⁷⁵ Bernal, "Las agriculturas de España en el siglo XVIII", p. 23, in Estructuras agrarias y reformismo ilustrado en la España del siglo XVIII, pp.11-24. On the way in which sheep owners organized around the Mesta are responsible for the landscape and social relations developed in Campo de Calatrava, cf. López Salazar, Estructuras agrarias y sociedad rural en La Mancha (ss.XVI y XVII), and Mesta, pastos y conflictos en el Campo de Calatrava (s. XVI).

Table I. 13. Almagro. Structure of property. Livestock and crops

	Secular	(%)	Ecclesiastic	(%)	Total
olive trees	100.737	56,4	77, 870	43,6	178.607
vineyards	469.266	66,8	233, 174	33,2	702.440
Livestock					
sheep	19.994	75, 2	6, 580	24,8	26.574
goats	1.033	91	103	9,0	1.136
pigs	1.100	91	110	9,0	1.210
Horses	1.972	75,2	649	24,8	2.621
Other					
oil mills	10	41,6	14	58,3	24
thresing floors	100	67,1	49	32,9	149

The pattern of concentrated land property was more marked in smaller towns. Table I. 14. shows the distribution of land ownership of Caracuel, one of the smallest villages of the Campo, where one sole propietor owned 77% of the land.

Table I. 14. Caracuel, 1753. Distribution of land ownership ⁷⁶

fanegas	owners	%	fanegas	%
< 2,000	1	2,5	2.302,3	72,7
< 25 and >250	7	7,5	559,1	17,6
>25	32	80	306	9,7
Total	40	100	3.167,4	100

"Land property appears, on the one hand, very fragmented, and on the other hand, very concentrated. A phenomen not specific to Caracuel, but general to the Campo de Calatrava, due to the distribution of the land carried out in the

⁷⁶ López Fernández, "La propiedad de la tierra a mediados del siglo XVIII en Caracuel",

13th century, and later disentailment measures. The Calatrava Order, repopulating this territory, assigned land to the Concejos, both as *propios* and as communal lands, retaining for itself some land for the attention of its dignitaries; and the rest --the smaller part, but also the most suitable for crops -- was distributed among the pobladores that the Order wanted to attract.

As land of the two first categories remained entailed until the 19th century, initial concentration persisted, while in the last group, partitions due to heritage and endebtmments arising from bad harvests provoked a twofold process: on the one hand, fragmentation of property; on the other hand, the rise of a new group of proprietors of middle scale, composed of proprietors able to purchase lands either from an increased output of their work, their families' work, or income from sources that today we would call the service sector" 77.

It is possible to identify four main groups of householders on the basis of their access to property: a first group is formed by the biggest proprietors. They are 28 householders, 1,3 % of all householders. Nine of them are ecclesiastical individuals or institutions, two are 'encomiendas', or civil institutions, and the rest are persons with the honorific Don and one case of titled nobility, the count of Valparaíso.

A second group are the labradores ricos (rich farmers), the third group is formed by small proprietors, and the last group is formed by the day workers with no land.

Ranked by the extension of dry land owned, the following are the main land proprietors of Almagro in 1752. Ecclesiastic landowners are highlighted:

77 López Fernández, art. cit., p. 294. "Not all public lands belonged to the crown. The municipalities had open pastures and monte, lands of common usage that had been specifically deeded to them, and they also had fields, meadows, and buildings that they rented (...) these properties were known as *bienes de propios* or simply as the *propios*, and their rent was one of the main sources for municipal budgets". Herr, *Royal finances*, p. 20. "Lands that were not established as private property or ceded expressly to a town or an individual and remained as wastes and common pastures were known as *tierras baldías* or simply *baldíos*. They included mountains, barren wastes, woods, and rough hills of scrub growth, to which the term *monte* applied, all of them uncultivated and many of them of no use. Those parts of the *baldíos* on which local livestock grazed or which provided firewood --known in Spanish as *tierras de aprovechamiento común* (lands of common use) -- were vital to the economy of the peasant villages." Herr, *Ibidem*, p. 19.

Table I. 15. Almagro, 1753. Main landowners

	irrigated	dry	olives	vines	sheep	pigs
Encomienda of Torzona		2,700				
E. of Montanchuelos		2,500				
count of Valparaíso	86,5	1,861	4,258	91,000	15,115	472
Company of Jesus	36,5	1,246	55,956	51,500	4,300	82
Convent of Calatrava	--	1,006	--	--		
Mesa Maestral	--	1,000	--	--		
Don Mateo J. de Narváez	13	817			790	100
Ambrosio Medel	24	810	2,115	8,450		
Don Francisco Rosales	13	690	2,020	6,000		
Don Tomás del Esquina	26.5	570.5	428	3,000		
Agustinos descalzos	47.5	567	4,602	28,650	619	
Convent Sto Domingo	25	511	7,114	10,800		
Don Gerónimo Buitrón	12.5	420	3,500	--		
Convent of Franciscas	98	396	4,678	11,300		
Don Cristóbal de la Vella	24	336.5	1,184	1,000	134	
Don Francisco Contreras	20	294.5	5,890	15,400		
Don Antonio Muñoz	17.5	231	614	4,300		
Convent of Dominicas	71.5	229.5	3,176	13,200		
Don Juan Ant. Alvarez	10	206.5	853	800		15
Don Jorge de la Esquina	25.5	200.5	1,054	4,220		
Don Juan Naranjo	2	199	697	11,700		60
Catalina Espinosa	24	198	2,153	20,100		
San Bartolomé	50	154.5	2,478	5,800		
D. Juan de Palomares	26.5	136	2,091	3,100		4
D. Manuel Dávila	10	132	1,272	9,000	604	64
Monastery of Bernardas	12	103.5	3,501	7,300		
Pedro de la Rubia	5	79.5	810	9,200	2	1
Monastery of Calatrava	40,5	55.5	1,298	11,050		

This group of main proprietors owned the following % of the total property of Almagro:

Table I. 16. Almagro, 1753. Proprieties of main landowners

irrigated plots	196	26,1
dry land plots	740	25,3
total plots	936	25,5
irrigated extension	574,5	31,3
dry extension	15,389,5	56,9
total extension	15,964	55,3
olive trees	61,742	34,6
vineyards	327,770	46,6
sheep	21,564	81,2
pigs	798	66
goats	92	8,1
horses	971	37
thresing floors	42	28,2
mills	12	50

These percentages indicate, in the first place, the irrelevance of the number of plots in order to understand the structure of the large estates. This is because *dehesas*, characteristic of the region, accounted for a very important part of them. *Dehesas* were large extensions of generally unplowed land (some parts could be sowed with cereal), with *iles*, where large flocks of sheep and pigs (these being fed with *bellotas*) were kept. The *encomiendas* of Torzona and Montanchuelos, which appear here as owners of the two larger one-plot estates, were actually juridical entities. These large *dehesas* were used by the flocks of some of the main proprietors, the count of Valparaíso or the Company of Jesus, which succeeded in renting them through their social influence.

Main proprietors seem to have shown less interest in irrigated land (they owned 31,3 % of the total irrigated land), than dry land, of which they owned 55,3 %. Landownership was related to the two main uses that Manchego landowners made in the 18th century of land: pastures for their flocks, vineyards, and only in the third place, cereal, all commercial crops. We shall see later how La Mancha became in the second half of the 18th century the main supplier of wine to Madrid, with important benefits for the producers.

On the other hand, the structure of livestock property presents two fundamental features: the overwhelming predominance of sheep, and the extreme concentration of its property. Being of a certain importance the number of pigs and goats (the latter surely higher, for count of Valparaíso declared none, although men "working with the count's goats" are recorded), almost nonexistent the number of cows and oxen, and being used the caballerías for work, sheep appears as the most profitable trade of the region. There were in very few hands though: just two proprietors, the count of Valparaíso and the Company of Jesus, owned 73 % of all sheep (the count 56,8 % and the Compañía 16,2%). The rest of the owners remain at a great distance of them: with the inclusion of the third main proprietor, Don Manuel Dávila Carrillo (owning 2,3 % of the total sheep), the percentage of sheep owned by these three owners increases to 75,3. The group of main proprietors owned 21.564 head, 81,2 % of the total sheep of Almagro.

This extreme concentration of sheep property was due to the special characteristics of the wool market. Wool was mainly for exports, and only a strong presence in the national market (as enjoyed by members of the Mesta) or links with the middlemen and exporters guaranteed profitability of the investments.

Productive basis: Herding and wool production

The region around Almagro was part of the Castilian plains where the famous Merino sheep originated.⁷⁸ Since the Middle Ages, herding had been "a major source of income for the landed elite, and it furnished supplementary income for the resource-poor agrarian economy as a whole, providing employment and producing raw materials for local textile industries"⁷⁹. At the end of the 18th century, herding was still producing very high profits. Almagro,

⁷⁸ Merino sheep were poor producers of milk but excellent producers of wool: while a normal manchego lamb gives between 1 Kg. 250 and 1 Kg, a merino sheep could produce between 3 kg. 700 and 7 kg.

⁷⁹ Rahn Phillips, "The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1780", p. 776.

and the Campo de Calatrava offer a good example of the organization of production characteristic of herding, and, as will be seen later, of the working organization on which herding was based.

Examining the Castilian trade system developed around Madrid, Ringrose has also noted the high degree of commercialization of wool production: "Wool was the most easily marketable commodity of the interior (...) wool production was highly monetized, with money rentals for pasture, money wages for the labour force, and profits in hard currency. Wool exports rose during the 18th century, and in 1795 two-thirds went to England (...) the 277.000 *arrobas* of wool exported in 1795 brought a return of 80 million *reales*. While this is barely half the value of agricultural commodities consumed by Madrid each year, it explains why even modest landowners and tenants maintained surprisingly large flocks despite scarce grazing. It was the best way of participating in the regional and long-distance economy" ⁸⁰.

This high degree of commercialization was supported by the Mesta, the powerful organization of sheep owners: "In spite of emerging arable interests, the Mesta, or sheep owners' association, remained a powerful pressure group and sheep farming, far from declining, reached its peak in the eighteenth century. Migrant sheep increased from 2 million in 1700 to 5 million in 1780 in response to foreign demand for merino wool and thanks to low production costs, a comparative advantage derived from the *Mesta's* privileged position in Spain" ⁸¹.

The pattern of livestock property has been described as the mechanism responsible for the drainage of local resources, due to absenteeism of large stock owners, who were in most cases noble families:

"The herds of migrant sheep found their winter pastures in Extremadura and La Mancha, but here too the owners of the dehesas (pastures) were located not in the receiving provinces but in Madrid or the cities of Old Castile, and again the profits from sheep farming were diverted from local economies and communities. In La

⁸⁰ D. Ringrose, Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560-1850, p. 177.

⁸¹ Lynch, Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808, p. 203.

Mancha, for example, the village of El Viso belonged to the marquis of Santa Cruz who had a palace there, 'the posadero informed me that numerous flocks of fine woolled sheep came here to feed annually; that Don Luis, the king's brother, and prince Maserano, have tracts of lands around the town, which they let to the shepherds, who arrive here from the northern parts of the kingdom with their flocks. ⁸²

The count of Valparaíso represented well this pattern in Almagro. Besides being the main landowner, he was also the main stock owner, with a flock of trashumant sheep of 15.115 head, "which in summer remains in the Mountains of León and in winter in this province of La Mancha and in Extremadura" ⁸³. In fact, the count of Valparaíso was one of the main sheep proprietors of Spain, and a member of the Honrado Concejo de la Mesta, the powerful organization of stock owners.

The herd of the count amounted to 75,6 % of the total sheep owned by secular owners and to 56,9 % of all Almagro sheep. It was divided into 14 herds, each of them conducted by a group of 4 men. The count was also the owner of 472 pigs, 498 horses and mules, and an undetermined number of goats (for they were not included in his declaration).

In the following decades the House of Valparaíso would lose some of its stock wealth. By 1780-1781 the count, now resident in Madrid, owned 9.939 sheep, 385 goats, no cattle, and 129 horses and mules. ⁸⁴ This decrease of 34,2 % in the number of sheep in less than 30 years could have been a consequence of the general decline of the great trashumant flocks of sheep. To the difficulties originated in the increasing pressure of agriculture was added falling wool prices in the European markets, where Spanish merino wool now had to compete with new producers. In the first decade of the 19th century, the invasion of the French army and subsequent local wars meant further losses in the flocks.

There is little doubt that these changes deeply altered the labour structure on which livestock was based. One of the first consequences seems to have been the disappearance of small proprietors, who often became wage workers of the

⁸² Lynch, op. cit., p. 203.

⁸³ AHCR, Ensenada, legajo 644.

⁸⁴ P. García Martín, La ganadería mesteña en la España borbónica (1700-1836), p.413.

main proprietors after losing their cattle. Chapter II describes the extent to which the organization of male labor in Almagro was altered by this crisis. Chapter IV describes 19th century developments in the traditional dedication of the region to sheep, such as the conversion of trashumant into non-migrant sheep, and the development of a local cheese-making tradition out of sheep's milk.

Productive basis: agriculture and agro- industries

All travellers through La Mancha mentioned large extensions of waste, unplowed lands. Table I. 17. shows the percentages of plowed and unplowed land for the most important towns of Campo de Calatrava in 1752. 40% of the surface of the region was plowed; grass, mounts and wastelands accounted for the remaining 60 %. In some of the towns, unplowed land accounted for over half the total land. ⁸⁵

Table I. 17. Campo de Calatrava, 1752. Uses of the land (%) ⁸⁶

	plowed	unplowed	Irrigated	Grain	Vines/olive	Pasture
Almagro	85,8	14,2	6,1	48,5	14,7	16,5
Almodóvar	11,2	88,7	0,01	4,7	0,3	6,2
Argamasilla	39,0	60,9	0,2	21,1	2,1	15,5
Ballesteros	78,6	21,4	0,1	98,3	1,3	
Bolaños	46,6	53,4	6,9	73,4	12,8	
Calzada	99,7	0,3	0,1	75,6	24,0	
Caracuel	13,4	86,6	0,1			
Granátula	49,9	51,1	1,0	77,0	21,4	
Mestanza	95,5	4,5	0,5	99,5	0,0	
Pozuelo	54,8	55,2	1,5	82,1	15,0	
Villamayor	59,9	40,0	0,1	19,4	0,9	39,4

⁸⁵ Rodríguez Espinosa, "El aprovechamiento del suelo en el Campo de Calatrava", p. 306.

⁸⁶ Quirós, "Valle de Alcudia y Campo de Calatrava", tables I and II, p.173, data from Ensenada. For Almagro, Almodóvar y Argamasilla, López-Salazar, "Evolución demográfica de la Mancha en el siglo XVIII", art. cit., p. 249. For Villamayor, Rodríguez and Callejas, Villamayor, un municipio del Campo de Calatrava en el siglo XVIII p. 63.

Whilst there were big differences in the relation between plowed-unplowed land in the different towns (in Almodóvar, Caracuel or Argamasilla unplowed land amounted to over 60% of the total land, while in other villages was less to 5%), in most of them more than half of the total land was unplowed.

The fact that the ratio between plowed and unplowed lands remains similar today (in 1976, 63,3 % of the total land was unplowed and 36,6 % plowed) suggests that natural conditions might have influenced the uses of land. Yet there is little doubt that this ratio was also the result of decisions made by the strongly market-oriented landowners. The pattern of land used mainly for grazing explains the chronic insufficiency of land devoted to agriculture, always insufficient to satisfy local demand for agricultural products, particularly wheat. Shortage of grain became a problem particularly serious in periods of demographic increase, such as in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the second half of the 18th century illegal plowing of the land became increasingly common. In 1804, representatives of three villages asked for permission to plow the dehesa of Cabezas, 2.750 fanegas that the town councils claimed to need because of the growing population: "peasants had to rent land at high prices or too far away, in other villages; many of them had no other occupation, for lack of employment in these villages, but transportation of woodfire and working sterile lands. Householders lacked the means to pay the local taxes and to maintain their families. They had to eat bad food, and, as a consequence, fevers had spread" ⁸⁷.

Distribution of crops

The distribution of crops reflects the strong market connection for the region's agriculture, in turn a consequence of the property system.

Grain (wheat and barley), vines and olive trees were the main crops in

⁸⁷ Quoted by F. Sánchez Salazar, *Extensión de cultivos en España en el siglo XVIII*, p.118. The conflict was between major livestock owners and town councils representatives of Corral de Calatrava, Caracuel de Calatrava and Cañada del Moral in 1797.

mid-18th century Almagro. 48,5% of arable land was devoted to grain in Almagro. Provision of wheat constituted a traditional problem for the region, and to solve it, or at least to prevent riots caused by its shortage, a Posito or public granary had been created in the 17th century. On June, 8, 1737, the Patrons of the Posito declared that the town

was in the most extreme need and with no wheat for the daily supply of its inhabitants, so the most efficient measures should be taken, and at the present the only available such measure was to order it be milled, for the said supply, 2.723 fanegas and a half of wheat, that the said Posito had, at the price of 28 reales each (...) and from an order from Madrid: that it is better that no change be made in the price of 9 cuartos at which the Bread is sold, and the loss resulting from it may be compensated by the stocks of the Posito ⁸⁸.

In 1765 the deputy of Almagro explained to the king: "this town has little arable land, for which reason, even in years of plenty, its many inhabitants live off the bread that is brought daily for sale by various bakers of the region".

A year later, the town council insisted that "the constitution of this town has always been to keep its inhabitants in food by the daily delivery of Bread that the neighbouring Towns have voluntarily provided; suffering shortages of such precious stuff whenever an accident has impeded the said delivery" ⁸⁹.

This shortage was further aggravated during the second half of the 18th century. Landowners increasingly tended to dedicate their lands to commercial crops such as olive groves and particularly vines, because these were highly profitable productions. ⁹⁰

Studying the supply of food to Madrid, Ringrose has described a shift from the 16th and 17th centuries, when most suppliers were from Northern Castile, to

⁸⁸ Year 1739, "testim.o de las Cuentas que se tomaron del estado q.e tenía el Pósito y Monte de Piedad de la Villa de Almagro." AHN, Consejos, legajo 51702, expediente 8, folio 11 recto.

⁸⁹ AHN, Consejos, legajo 510. Shortages of grain worsened also as a consequence of the growing importance of the capital: "the growth of Madrid aggravated recurrent regional subsistence crisis." Ringrose, p. 276.

⁹⁰ Part of the grain was also sold in Madrid: in the late 1760's, "significant amounts" of wheat for the Posito of Madrid were purchased in La Mancha. Ringrose, op. cit., p. 203.

the 18th century, when La Mancha became the most important supplier to the Madrid market, particularly of wine. This shift had begun in the 17th century, when, in coincidence with "the unprecedented volume of wine entering Madrid at the time", wine from Toledo was arriving in Madrid at lower prices. "The decline of wine prices between 1590 and 1615 explains the disappearance of Old Castilian wine from the market (...) The geography of the capital's wine supply shifted farther south in 1631-1700", a main feature of this evolution being "the growing frequency of references to quality wines from long distances --Sevilla, Cordoba, and Valencia-- and the growing prominence of La Mancha, including the regions of Madrideo, Consuegra, Ciudad Real, Daimiel and Membrilla." ⁹¹

Its position on the main road to Madrid and the Southern seaports made transport prices of commodities from La Mancha competitive and facilitated local exports. Competitive transportation costs "meant that wine from New Castile reached Madrid more cheaply". By mid-18th century, this had resulted in a growing specialization in trade that is discussed in chapter II.

Plate 1 shows how the characteristic man from La Mancha was represented in the rest of Spain. He is *el vinatero*, the wine seller. In the front of his belt he holds the bolsas where he kept the money from his deals. Next to him, as the symbol of his trade, two *pellejos* of wine, the skins of sheep or cows, dried and prepared, where wine was transported to Madrid. He is represented as a wealthy trader, wearing fancy shoes, embroidered belt, stockings and metal buttons in his jacket, blouse and pants.

Growing demand for wine was responsible for the growing use of arable land by vineyards, which in turn, further worsened grain shortages. In 1765, during the Inventory of the properties of the Jesuits at the time of their expulsion, town officials complained about the extension of land devoted to vineyard instead of wheat. ⁹²

During the second half of the 18th century, the region's specialization in

⁹¹ Ringrose, ob. cit., p.202.

⁹² "this abundance of vineyards is not the most praiseworthy in this country, for it does not allow enough land for the Bread crops, which are more deserving of attention, as staple goods." AHN, Consejos, legajo 1279, folio 49 recto.

[illegible][illegible]

100-443888-100



tunestia moro.
l'interro.



commercial crops was further reinforced. Agricultural production for local consumption was limited to some grain cultivated in dry lands, alternated with legumes, and the produce of irrigated lands.

The scarce importance of irrigation, never higher than 7 % of the plowed land, is noticeable. Irrigation of some lands had traditionally been made possible not from water taken from rivers, but because the region's subsoil is an immense lake.⁹³

Irrigated crops included zumaque, a plant rich in tannin which was used to prepare and dye leather.⁹⁴ Vegetables were cultivated in the irrigated lands. Potatoes were introduced in the second half of the 18th century, as Miguel López del Hoyo y Guerra, a parish priest from Almagro, reported to the Semanario de Agricultura y Artes.⁹⁵

Obviously, not all landowners had access to these commercial opportunities. High profits derived from supplying a town like Madrid were possible only for those with means to collect regularly important quantities of olive or grapes, to process them, and to transport their produce to Madrid. A developed organization of production, processing and trade was required, as the buildings that can still be seen today show, with their presses and large bodegas and files of immense containers for oil and wine. Only a few convents and one or two secular owners participated in this large scale production and trade. As David Ringrose rightly points out, "as the distance to market became greater, the

⁹³ The Catastro mentions an abundance of norias to take water up, while functioning of mills (moved with rivers's flows) was not guaranteed every year and if so, only for few months. In Almagro there were "six pottery shops with their ovens in which Alcaduces for the norias are fabricated".

⁹⁴ "Sumac: a preparation of the dried and chopped leaves and shoots of plants (...) much used in tanning, also for dyeing and staining leather black." An article on this plant appeared in the Semanario de Agricultura y Artes, XI, 280, 289.

⁹⁵ "Potatoes are not consumed here but to feed people, and bread has been made out of them frequently, and tortas which came out very good and esponjadas when half of them are made of wheat flour (...) *morunas* potatoes, which were unknown here until fourteen or fifteen years ago, when they were brought from Murcia o Valencia (...) pigs are fed by boiling potatoes with flour, bran, or orujo, and they also eat them alone". Semanario de Agricultura y Artes dirigido a los Párrocos, 46 (1797), p. 308. Orujo is a refuse of grapes (or olives) after pressing. The liquor distilled from grape refuse is also called orujo.

cost inherent in dealing in small quantities restricted the trade to larger producers, leaving the others out of the market.”⁹⁶

These economic conditions favoured the rise of a hierarchy of landowners, with a very reduced group at its top which was in control of local politics.

Around 1782, the deep social crisis which the region was undergoing was attributed to the strict control of the land property by a particular group of families: through control of local power, a group of powerful proprietors was making use of local resources and charging the poor with new taxes. A report written by Don Diego Manuel Cortés, born in La Mancha but living in Madrid, revealed that the mechanism used was to control the elections of the local justices among one or two families.

In this irregular way (...) they facilitate the use of the best meadows, perhaps without paying their legitimate value; the selling of the greatest part of them, in damage of the scarce public resources and the common interest; the employment of local resources in dealings, and negotiations with which they obtain high benefits, utilities and conveniences; charging the towns with higher contributions than they should pay (...) it has been observed in the towns of Piedrabuena, Miguelturra, Moral, Puertollano, Argamasilla and in almost all the rest of the province of La Mancha, whose inhabitants have remained entirely destroyed, unable to (...) continue in the important branch of Agriculture (...) from which an important decadence of your Royal Erario results, and that many unhappy ones devote themselves to beg from door to door, others to idle life, for lack of wages; and still others, pushed by the need to maintain their families, to robbery and other excesses”⁹⁷

Two years later another report described the “miserable situation of La Mancha” in similar terms.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ringrose, ob. cit., p. 185.

⁹⁷ AHN, Consejos, leg. 2.835, no. 1 (1782). “Expediente formado en virtud de R.l orden de S. M. y representación de D.n Diego Miguel Cortés, sobre La falta de buena administración de Justicia que se experimenta en la Provincia de La Mancha; daños que de ello se originan, y medios que pueden adoptarse para su remedio...”

⁹⁸ AHN, Consejos, leg. 2.835, no.2. “Expediente formado en virtud de R. O. de S. M. con la que remite al Consejo para que la tenga presente en los casos que ocurran, una represe.n dirigida por el Yntendente de La Mancha al exc.mo S.r conde de Floridablanca, s.re el miserable estado en que se hallan los vez.os de dha Provinzia por las contribuciones que estaban pagando para la construcción y reparos de los Puentes de las Prov.s de Toledo, Jaén, Córdoba y Guadalajara.”

Mining

The mining tradition in the region dates back to the Middle Ages. Almadén mines were, together with the mines in Istria and Bohemia, the only world suppliers of mercury, produced out of cinnabar, whose demand became extremely profitable when in 1554 a system to benefit silver for amalgam was discovered.⁹⁹

Some years before, the Flemish family of the Fugger, bankers of Charles V, rented the mines, which remained in their hands until 1645.¹⁰⁰ The Fugger and other Flemish families settled in Almagro, where they built palaces and warehouses, and an impressive Plaza Mayor of strong Flemish flavour.

A number of auxiliary activities required for the functioning of mines also developed, like transportation of coal and wood. Exploitation of the mines had a destructive effect on the mounts around them, depriving the inhabitants of wood from communal lands.

Instances of private initiatives in the mining sector existed. According to Eugenio Larruga, Don Manuel Fernández and Doña Rita Lambert, from Madrid, arrived to the region attracted by the prospects of mining opportunities: "Don Manuel Fernández and Doña Rita Lambert, his wife, have exposed before my Junta General of Trade, Money and Mines, to have discovered, within the boundaries of the town of Abenójar, near the river Oxalóra in La Mancha, a copper mine" says the R. O. of November 26, 1772.

Larruga explains that

by virtue of this royal licence Fernández built a small house next to the mine, put different utensils for the work, and paid for the expenses of the miners he brought from Río Tinto, but when he was doing the first fundiciones, he was ordered by the same Junta that he should cease in his works, and he was deprived of his licence, which

⁹⁹ Sources to the mines of Almadén are Matilla Tascón, Historia de las minas de Almadén. More recently, R. Dobado, "Salarios y condiciones de trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1758-1839" and El trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1750-1855, Ph. D. Thesis.

¹⁰⁰ Ramón Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros, Crítica, 1989.

was revoked: the reason was to be the mines within the lands corresponding to the Almadén mines, privileged, and belonging to the Superintendencia general de azogues ¹⁰¹.

Despite this failure, this instance of private initiative is particularly interesting because its protagonists were the same entrepreneurs who later appeared behind the first lace "factory", as we will see below.

Manufactures

Industrial activities in the region developed to transform locally produced raw materials. They were mainly of two types: industries from mineral and agricultural raw materials, such as olive oil, wax, flour and wine, and textile industries, mainly wool and leather.

Part of this industrial production was intended to meet the local demand, entering into the circuits of redistribution of convents and noble houses, the main landowners. Another part was sold in Madrid and the Andalusian cities, the transportation of these goods being an important part of the local economy.

Table I. 18 shows the prevalence of industries in Campo de Calatrava according to the Catastro. As can be seen, this was in general a very modest activity.

¹⁰¹ Larruga, Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercio, fábricas y minas de España.

Table I. 18. Campo de Calatrava, 1752. Distribution of industry

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Almagro	9	4	6	--	3	3	1	3	--	--
Carrión	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	--	--
Puertollano	13	3	8	3	4	10	--	2	--	--
Villamayor	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	1	--
Almodóvar	18	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	3
Argamasilla	1	--	--	--	3	8	1	--	--	--
Mestanza	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Total	50	9	14	3	10	26	3	5	6	3

- 1: Flour mills
 2: Oil mills
 3: Pottery workshops
 4: Ovens for breaks and roofing tiles
 5: Ovens for plaster cast (*caleras*)
 6: Liquor boilers and stills
 7: Soap boilers
 8: Leather workshops (*tenerías*)
 9: wax presses (*lagar para cera en limpio*)
 10: Cloth mills (*batanes*)

Part of this industrial activity was very poor: in Carrión the soap manufacturer was not taxed "for the lack of commerce" ¹⁰²; in Daimiel, the silver maker was taxed nothing "for not having means for his art". Other documents confirm the self-consumption character of the production: in Argamasilla, the eight liquor boilers "only serve for their owners to make some use of their *cascas*[the grapes' skins]".

The two main types of industries were industries of transformation of agricultural production (such as mills and presses for olive oil and wine and liquors, boilers for soap, wax) and the textile manufactures.

In the 18th century, textile manufactures were still part of most peasant

¹⁰² AHMCR, Hacienda, legajo 673, question 29a.

economies. ¹⁰³ There were looms in many peasant houses, mostly for wool, but also for flax. Lace making, a distinctive feature of Almagro manufactures, must be considered within this framework.

Evidence of wool manufactures in the Campo de Calatrava goes back at least to the 15th century. Wool fabrics developed as a domestic manufacture in order to take advantage of the wool from the large flocks. ¹⁰⁴

Although most of the locally produced wool was exported, part of it was washed, threaded and then manufactured as a domestic activity.

Leather manufacturing was also the occupation of some artisans in Almagro, using the skins of the locally raised livestock. The importance of stock rising in the region favoured the existence in mid-18th of many related activities, such as blacksmiths, skin dealers, tanners, leather manufacturers, etc.

Textile manufactures never went beyond the limits of domestic manufactures. Some attempts were made in the 1770's and 1780's to install a "factory", following the ideas promoted by the Enlightened governants on 'popular industry'. All these initiatives appear related in some way to the count of Valparaíso, who held important positions in the Court.

The two entrepreneurs from Madrid who around the 1770's had renounced their plans for a mining initiative seem to have been the first to establish a lace "factory".

Trade

The strong market orientation of local agricultural and stock production was the result of the property system, but became reinforced as a result of increasing urban demand.

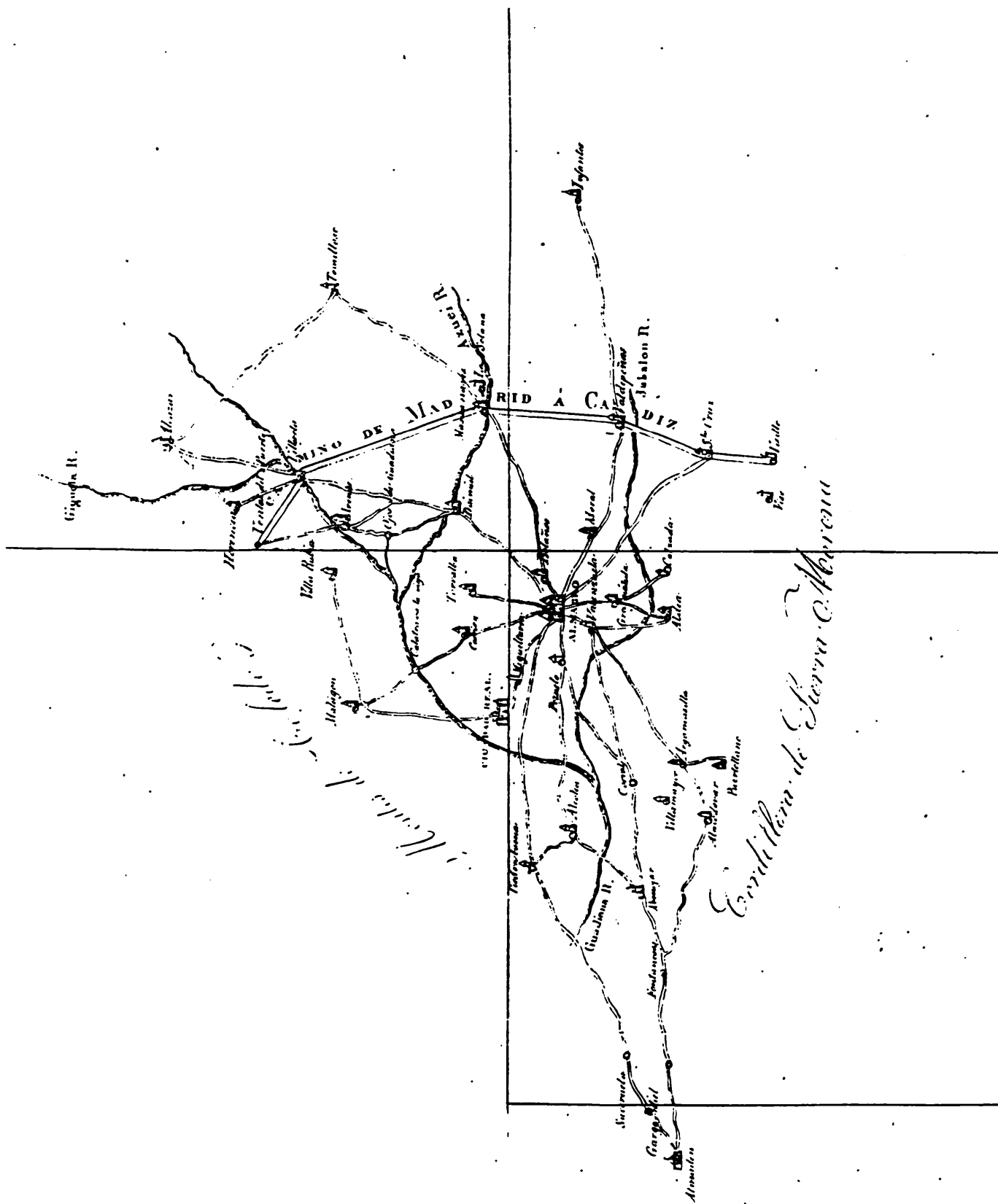
Growing links with urban markets had been favoured by the region's

¹⁰³ Parejo, Industria dispersa e industrialización. El textil antequerano.

¹⁰⁴ In the first half of the 16th century Almagro was one of the main consumers in Castile of *pastel*, a tincturous plant used for wool fabrics. H. Casado Alonso, "El comercio del pastel. Datos para una geografía de la industria pañera española en el siglo XVI", Revista de Historia económica, VIII, 3, 1990, pp. 523-548.

location, midway between Valencia and Extremadura, and between the Court and Seville and Cádiz, the main ports in Andalucía. Lower transportation prices than those of traditional suppliers in Old Castile accounted for more competitive local exports, and were the key to the growing involvement of the region in the market. As a result of this process, trade became an important economic activity for the region, a main source of income for Almagro and an occupation for many Almagro men, as chapter II shows.

Plate 2 reproduces a map published in 1833 in a booklet intended to support the pretension of some provincial representatives who wanted the capital of the province to be moved from Ciudad Real to Almagro. Because this was the scope, the importance of Almagro as the economic and social center of the region is here probably exaggerated. But the fact remains that Almagro's geographical position was central to the system of communications of the 18th and 19th centuries. As the map shows, Almagro was very near the main road that linked Madrid with Cádiz, the main colonial seaport, and it was more central to the regional road system that linked the areas' towns than Ciudad Real, represented in the map in a smaller size than Almagro, at its north west. One of the most important of these towns was the mining center of Almadén, far west in the map.



Carta de J. J. de la Torre y M. de la Torre

3. RUTE. Physical and historical setting

Rute is located in the south of the Andalusian province of Córdoba (see map). Within its boundaries, the sierra de Rute has its peak in Sierra Alta, 1.326 m. high, its lowest point being near the river Genil, at 350 m. Rute is in the slope of the sierra, between the 600 m. and 680 m. of altitude.

The total extension of the township was 22. 218 fanegas, equivalent to 133,89 Km2. Inhabitants described their land as "rough and broken" in the Cadaster. Part of it was abundant in water, which allowed a certain degree of dispersed pattern of settlement.

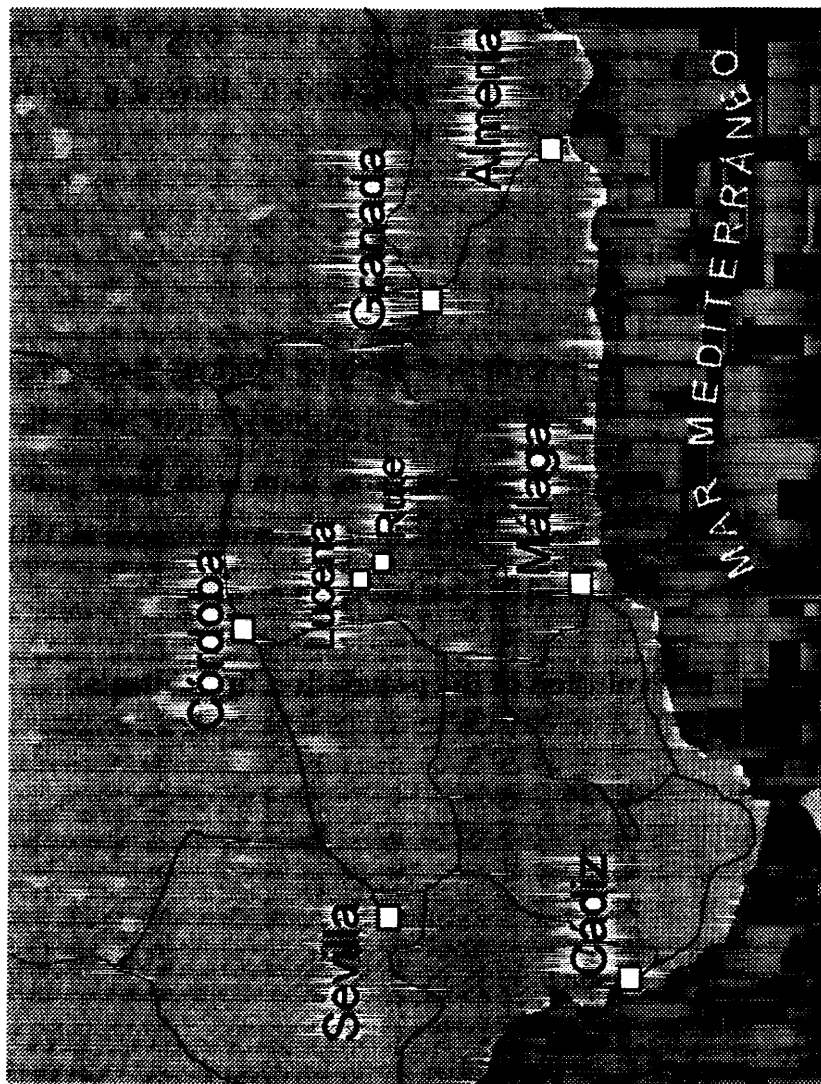
Population, 1752-1892.

For the analysis of the population of Rute I follow the extensive study of García Jiménez, which has drawn on demographic records from the 16th to the 18th centuries.¹⁰⁵ I have then completed this data with those provided by the questionnaires sent by Rute's Town Council to the government in 1803, 1810, and 1811, and from the census of 1892 for late 19th century.

Table I. 19. Rute. Evolution of the population (inhabitants)

1693	3. 716
1753	4. 876
1771	5. 772
1781	5. 832
1787	5. 602
1803	6. 852
1810	6. 451
1811	6. 802
1892	9. 865

¹⁰⁵ García Jiménez, Demografía rural andaluza: Rute en el Antiguo Régimen.



Data show a sustained growth of the population of Rute from the 17th century, that accelerated during the 19th century.

The population of Rute was organized around a twofold pattern: the larger part was concentrated in the town, while a smaller percentage was dispersed throughout the township, in *alquerias*, o *cortijos*. During the 19th century, this 'rural' part of the population increased its relative weight with respect to the total population of Rute. Table I. 20. shows the evolution of households' composition and dispersion of the habitat, as drawn from the different censuses.

Table I. 20. Rute. Evolution of the pattern of settlement

	households	individ/household	female household.	rural
1693	929		15,7	9, 14
1753	1. 333	3,65	20,7	16, 35
1803	1. 596	4,29		
1892	2. 092	4,71	19,2	27, 7

3. d. The property system

The lands around Rute, on the border of the old Muslim kingdom of Granada, as well as the rights over their inhabitants, were part of the immense estates given by the Crown to the noble families who intervened in the wars against the Muslims. The term of Rute belonged to the estate of the Duke of Sesa, in mid-18th century resident in Madrid. ¹⁰⁶

Although originally the proprietor of the land, as well as seigneur, the duke of Sessa was only the "main landowner" of Rute when the Cadaster was collected in 1752, owning 10 % of Rute's township, or 15 % of Rute's productive lands. The relative degree of distribution of Rute's land in mid 18th century was

¹⁰⁶ The duke was one of the main landowners of the province of Córdoba, and "main landowner" in Rute, Baena, Doña Mencía and Iznájar. He also hold jurisdictional rights over all these domains. M. Artola, *El latifundio. Propiedad y explotación. ss. XVIII-XIX*, p. 55.

the result of an historical process that has sought the repopulation of the area after the wars and the expulsion of the Moors. In an attempt to attract people, lettings of holdings had been made since the 15th century.

The structure of land ownership that Rute presented in mid-18th century was that of the large estates or *latifundios*, described as characteristic of the Mediterranean pattern of landownership, who emerged after the religious wars of the Middle ages. The land property system of Rute appears, thus, in its historical formation as a case similar to that seen in Almagro.

Table I. 21. Structure of land ownership. Rute, 1753 ¹⁰⁷

	landowners		land	
		%	fanegas	%
no land	407	32	--	--
1,49 fanegas and less	331	26,1	172	1
1,5 - 77	497	39,1	5.871	34
78 and more	35	2,8	11.186	65
Total	1.270	100	17.228	100

The degree of concentration of land ownership is high, with 2,8 of proprietors owning 65% of the total land, while 32 % of the householders declared to own no land. Yet the most relevant feature of Rute's landownership system is probably the fact that 40 % of the householders owned 34 % of the land, that is, that there was a medium-size class of landowners who cultivated their own lands. On the other hand, there was a fourth group of landowners, 26 % of all of them, who owned very small plots (of less than 1,5 fanegas), a total of 1 % of the land, but they were often hortelanos, that is, cultivated irrigated lands, which had a much higher productivity.

¹⁰⁷ García Jiménez, *Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna*, p.52. *Celemines* and *quartillos* have been reduced to *fanegas*.

These two features, the existence of class of medium landowners, and the fact that the very small landowners were in fact cultivating highly productive plots, fail to fit into the classical model of extremely concentrated pattern of landownership that has been described as characteristicly Mediterranean.

3. c. Productive basis: agriculture, local trade, wine

These lands were only partially plowed. Of the 22.218 fanegas, or 133,89 Km. of the township, less than half of it, 45,5 %, was plowed. This was due to both the mountaneous character of part of the township, and to the absenteeism of some of the proprietors.

Of this total surface plowed, around 1 % corresponded to irrigated crops, and 44 % to dry farming. ¹⁰⁸

Table I. 23. Rute, 1752. Uses of the land (%) ¹⁰⁹

irrigat.	olive trees	grain	grain+ilex	vines	unplowed
0,8	4,8	21,4	12,6	5,4	54,6

The large Andaluz latifundios had three main modalities, depending on the type of crop: "*cortijos*, or large estates devoted to grain, *haciendas*, devoted to olive trees, and *dehesas*, preferentially devoted to pastures, although they could be worked in a mixed regime of agriculture and livestock" ¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ AHP de Córdoba, Ensenada, legajo 569, Villa de Rute de la Prov.a de Cord.va. Copia de las Respuestas que al Ynterrogatorio gral han dado la Iusticia y demás Peritos nombra. s por ella y Juez de la Operación.

¹⁰⁹ Ortega Alba, El sur de Córdoba. Estudio de geografía agraria, pp. 23 and 33.

¹¹⁰ Artola, El latifundio. Propiedad y explotación. ss. XVIII-XIX, p. 17.

These three modalities existed in Rute, but by mid-18th century the main dry crop was grain. Lands devoted to dry farming produced "Wheat, barley, *Escaña* (a local variety of wheat), Beans, Chekpeas, Lentils" and a number of local varieties of beans and cereals.

Although by mid-18th century olive trees occupied only around 5 % of the total surface of Rute's land, it would become in the following decades the main crop of the region. Plate 3 shows the 'type' from Córdoba as represented by an olive grower. He is defined as a farmer, and pictured in fact not as a poor worker, but wearing shoes, hat, and a buttoned jacket. The symbol of his wealth are olives, as he indicates it by pointing at the olive trees. Olives have been collected and stored in huge baskets made with esparto grass, a local manufacture derived from trade and storage activities.

Besides grain, the Catastro mentions Rute as producer of "zumac, olive trees, vines, mulberry trees, reedbed, poplar groves, Grass, thickets and mounts of ilex and Quejigos". Irrigated crops produced every year, according to the Catastro, "small crops of all kind of vegetables, fruit trees, flax and hemp" in the following proportions:

Table I. 24. Rute, 1752. Distribution of irrigated lands (fanegas)

wheat	54	22.9
flax	38	16.2
hemp	27	11.4
vegetables	86	36.4
Total irrigated crops	205	
With trees	31	13.1
Total	236	100.0

The economic importance of irrigated lands lay, first, in the much higher productivity of irrigated plots in comparison to dry farming. Small irrigated plots were highly productive, and a most important source of food for the local population.

Second, in the fact that irrigated products such as flax, hemp or mulberry



Le roi qui son acceptation.
Labrador

[illegible]

Catania

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible markings and noise.]

in the 1940s

trees were raw materials for the local textile manufactures, so their presence indicates the existence of such manufacturing. The definitive decline in the 19th century of these manufactures obliged to replace them for new crops.

The third feature of Rute's agriculture was the uncultivated land, that evidence shows as providing Rute's population with numerous products and raw materials.

An important part of the term of Rute is mountain. This provided a variety of trees, as described by all sources, in contrast to the characteristic landscape of the Andaluz plains. Ensenada mentions: "olive trees, ilex, mulberry trees, Quejigos, Morales, Ziruelos, Granados, Perales, Membrillos, Nogales, Duraznos, fig trees, Alamos, Cañaberales Brabíos, Vines, Zumacars and some osiers".

Trees were important suppliers of fruit, both for local consumption (animal and human) and for selling at the nearby markets; and as suppliers of firewood. Osiers were used by the local population for a number of activities, such as basket weaving.

The main function of the mountaneous part of Rute's land was, however, to maintain Rute's livestock.

Livestock developed as an important branch of Rute's economy. Table I. 25 shows the total number of livestock in mid-18th century.

Table I. 25. Rute, 1752. Livestock

	secular	ecclesiastic	total
cattle	626	7	633
Pigs	1.995	6	2.001
Sheep	3.275	18	3.293
Goats	2.833	--	2.833
Hores, mules	619	10	629
Horses, mares	227	4	231

Besides the importance of sheep, the traditional livestock of most of Spain, the most relevant feature of Rute's livestock is the importance of goats and pigs. Goats, whose maintenance was very inexpensive, were regarded for this reason the livestock of the poor. They demand very little care, and can be fed with the few grass they find in the mount.

Manufactures

As in most rural towns of Southern Spain, in Rute two main types of manufactures existed: the processing of agricultural products, such as oil and wine, and textile manufactures. In both cases, industrial activity consisted of processing of products generated by primary activities (agriculture and livestock).

Among the second were wool and silk manufactures. Mention can be found of flax and wool manufactures in the 16th and 17th centuries. Although by the second half of the 18th century some extension of Rute's land was still dedicated to their cultivation, the actual production was a mere remnant of the past. In a report sent at the end of the 17th century, textiles were already described as in decline, and foreigners are blamed for it:

in this town there has been much dealing in wool and linen factories, in which all its inhabitants dressed, and also was sold to foreigners, and this has ceased, either through the calamity of the times or, which seems more possible to me, because foreigners have traded in these articles ¹¹¹.

While there is evidence of silk manufactures during the 16th and 17th centuries, by the 18th century this industry was clearly in decay, although production of raw silk survived longer. In 1792, Rute's silk breeders explained in a report that "In this town, there being no manufactures of ribbons or similar, the [silk] owners take it to the town of Priego to sell, or the householders (of Priego) came here for it" ¹¹².

¹¹¹ García Jiménez, Textos para la historia de Rute, p. 86.

¹¹² "Auto sobre justificación del valor de la seda por un quinquenio...", in García Jiménez, Textos para la historia de Rute, p. 89.

The reason for the decline of Rute’s silk manufactures was its proximity to one of the main centers of silk manufactures in Spain, the town of Priego. Silk merchants and manufacturers from Priego purchased the raw silk in Rute, but the high degree of industrial concentration made Rute’s silk manufactures non competitive. ¹¹³

Cloth manufacturers existed also on a small scale, although the Cadaster records only textile manufactures integrated within the guild system. Table I. 26. shows the slight increase of textile and soap (also an oil based production) manufactures in the second half of the 18th century.

Table I. 26. Rute. Evolution of some industrial activities.						
	Cloth		Linen		Soap	
	Looms	Pieces	Looms	Pieces	Factories	Pounds
1749	2	30	50	100	1	6.000
1786	3	40	60	120	1	7.500

Manufacturing of agrarian products included production of olive oil, soap, wine, vinegar and domestic distilling of spirits and waterfires, an activity through which Rute became well known during the 19th century.

The processing of livestock products was also important. Leather work was a traditional activity, a manufacturing heritage of the Muslim artisans. It included all the stages of its preparation, such as dyeing. The many shoemakers that appear in late 19th century censuses were the bearers of an artisan tradition of leather work centuries old.

But of all the activities that formed the basis of Rute’s economy,

¹¹³ On Priego silk manufactures, Durán Alcalá, “La industria de tafetanes en Priego de Córdoba en el Antiguo Régimen. Siglos XVII y XVIII” (I), and Ruiz Barrientos, “La industria de tafetanes en Priego de Córdoba en el Antiguo Régimen. Siglos XVII y XVIII (II)”.

manufacture of pork products seems to be one of the most important generators of income for Rute's families, and one from which we have some evidence. All the sources on Rute mention the high quality and fame of its hams. ¹¹⁴

Manufacture of pork products is not mentioned in the Cadaster. This absence indicates that it was a domestic manufacture, involving mainly women.

The over 2. 000 pigs declared by the householders to the Cadaster's officials were kept and fed on common lands or within the town, as the periodic municipal regulations trying to control this activity show.

Home killing of animals was also prosecuted, but these regulations show is that it was a common practice of Rute's families. ¹¹⁵

Men's participation in this industry was at the transport stage. Pork products were exported by Rute's muleteers and sold in Andalusian towns. They were not perishable, so they could be easily stored and transported.

In conclusion, Rute's productive structure was in mid-18th century much more diversified than it could seem at first glance. Although strongly based on agriculture, the processing of agricultural production developed in industrial specializations such as waterfires and, increasingly, olive oil and soap.

¹¹⁴ References to the quality of Rute hams can be found in two novels by Cervantes, El casamiento engañoso and La gran sultana doña Catalina de Oviedo. García Jiménez, Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna, p.66.

¹¹⁵ In 1874 the Justice officials complaint about the impossibility of prosecuting domestic killing of animals, as "neither the Justice nor the officials of the Town Slaughter House can be present at every occasion in which they do their killings, and these sometimes are in their own homes, sometimes in the homes of their relatives or friends, to do it with more secrecy." Textos para la historia de Rute, p. 82.

4. Transmission of property and peasant families.

In the former pages the productive structures of three peasant areas of Spain in mid-18th century had been described. These productive structures were in turn based upon systems of property of the land and livestock, that were the main mechanisms accounting for peasants' access to the local resources. Although this is not the subject of this thesis, in the following pages I describe the legal framework of inheritance practices and norms in these three areas and suggest

Property was governed by norms of inheritance that form a fundamental element of the peasant economy. Transmission of property between members of families, between generations and between spouses.

Inheritance systems followed different criteria, but all had come to define which members of the next generation merited access to property, and which did not, or were less worthy. That is, a hierarchy of individuals was created, by which these had access to material property.

It reflects family/social acknowledgement of work done (i.e., of merit, of reward for the investment done). Inheritance rights mean rights over the family patrimony. Where do these rights derive from?

They are less static that could be thought of, for in fact families permanently create new mechanisms to compensate, or "correct" inheritance established practices, the "norm".¹¹⁶

The three areas studied here belong to the Castilian legal system. There were also in the Spanish territory different foral legal codes, in Cataluña, Galicia, the Basque country, the Balearic Islands, Navarra. General Castilian law was collected into a Civil Code in 1888, later than in other European countries, because of the difficulties of unifying different legal traditions, in the Spanish territory existing some "foral" laws. Interestingly, the main causes of disagreement between these different laws were the regulation of the economic

¹¹⁶ Llorenç Ferrer i Alós, "Estrategias familiares y formas jurídicas de transmisión de la propiedad y el estatus social", *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, X, 3, 1992, pp. 9-14.

basis of marriage and inheritance systems.

The basis of the Castilian civil law regarding inheritance were equal partition among the children, be these female or male. However, a system of *mejora* existed, by which parents kept a part of their property and had the right to leave it to whoever of their children they choose to, a practice generally used in peasant societies to compensate the child who had taken care of them most.

Regarding rights of the surviving spouse, who was generally the wife, the regulation of the economic basis of marriage, according to Castilian law, was based upon the system of *bienes gananciales* or marital property, according to which all the goods acquired after the marriage, excepting those from donations or inheritance, belong to both spouses equally. This meant that at the death of one of the spouses the other owns half of all the patrimony, not as an inheritance, but from his or her own right. Also, the widow's usufruct of the 30% of the other half. This traditional practice was gathered in the Civil Code of 1888, and made dowries unnecessary.

Anthropological studies prove very useful to understand two fundamental differences: the one between *norm* and *practice*.¹¹⁷

The second level to interpret inheritance practices lies on the difference between *property* and administration. The fact that all individuals of a peasant community inherit does not mean that all of them are equally *proprietors*, in the legal and social sense of being legally able to sell and buy, to enter into market practices.

A good example of this gap is provided by the study of Lourdes Méndez on a peasant community of Lugo, in Northern Spain, in the 1980's. The norm was "the total equality of sons and daughters before the patrimony."¹¹⁸ In fact, both sons and daughters inherited equally. Yet married women, by entering into the marriage contract, lost any possibility of effectively exercising their property rights, for were their husbands to have all the rights to sell the wives' property.

¹¹⁷ Garrido Arce, Estrella, "La imposible igualdad. Familia y estrategias hereditarias en la Huerta de Valencia a mediados del siglo XVIII", pp. 83-104.

¹¹⁸ Méndez, *Cousas de mulleres. Campesinas, poder y vida cotidiana (Lugo 1940-1980)*, p. 86.

The inheritance system prevailing in Pas was based upon partible inheritance:

"Men and women inherited equally. In Pas, they inherit equally various types of property; there is no tradition of transmitting property of a specific kind, such as land, to heirs of one sex or another, in particular. A woman may bring into her marriage as much land as her husband does, or more (...) In the barrios, most married couples with children, especially when some of the children are herders in Pas, transmit the bulk of their estates to their heirs before their deaths, in the tradition of the 'donations' " 119.

The inheritance system was designed to transmit property among generations but it also reflects assumptions about male and female children. In Pas, the work of children was so fundamental for the family farm that the system guarantees egalitarian access to male and female children.

"The ideal structure of the autarchic family corresponds at the normative level with the egalitarian principle, which establishes the distribution of paternal goods among the children. Equality was the norm culturally approved as the most adequate to carry on the division of the domestic patrimony (...) [In Pas] the system of bilateral or *cognaticio* heritage, by which male and female inherit equivalent parts and at the same time, prevails (...) The system characteristic of the Pasiego area, i.e. 'donation' of the goods while the parents are alive, is responsive to the environment and the habitat in which Pasiego people live. Scarcity of land, increasing amount of livestock and the difficulty of the land, make life extremely difficult. Thus the parents, once retired and assured a rent from the children, 'donate' their goods to children (...) The practice of donation is a result of the impossibility for old Pasiegos (and above all, for parents whose children have left) to maintain the farm and the trashumant cycle to feed the cows. Once the cows are sold, meadows and cabañas lose all their functions, and parents retire to a *vividora* near the center, or move in with one of the children, which, in this case, can be "mejorado" in terms of heritage 120.

It seems that, in practice, equality governed the process of transmission between generations: the documents establish that male and female children were endowed with equal portions of the estate. Yet this equal contribution of men and women to their own marriages cannot be interpreted a more equal position of wives and husbands.

Instances of married women filing complaints against their husbands for having these sold their properties without their agreement or even their

119 Tax Freeman, op. cit., p.115.

120 Rivas, Antropología social de Cantabria, p.111.

knowledge, exist in the archives. In 1868, Fermina Gutiérrez filed a complaint with the local judge against her husband, Juan Martínez, for having sold to another man of Vega de Pas

"half a house and a orchard in the site of Guzparras, and he has no right to sell this, for it was my dowry... belonging to the estate of my deceased father (...) I ask for the deal to be declared null" 121.

Campo de Calatrava and Córdoba were within territories juridically organized according to the Castilian law, whose the inheritance system was based on equal transmission to males and females.

However, in practice marriage suspended women's right to property, which passed de facto onto their husbands. In the 1780's the "scandal of the province" of Ciudad Real involved the goods (a house, some furniture and some plots with olive trees) that Andrea Morales Lozano, de Daimiel, had inherited from her uncle, a mercedarian priest, who had nevertheless left the use of the property to another priest. This situation had continued for 23 years, with the priest enjoying the property, until 1771, when Andrea married.

From that moment, her husband Antonio Calbillo González, also from Daimiel but living in Madrid, filed an action to expel the priest from the property. His lawyer, describing the situation, stated that

"at the moment that my client entered the marriage contract, he wanted (as it was fair) to clarify the respective rights (...) and my client and his wife enjoy ownership and possession (...) my client is legitimate owner by representation of his wife..."

Despite the fact that further denounces of both the priest and the husband converted the problem into a serious scandal (being a member of the Church involved), the wife never intervened. 122

Near Daimiel, in Almagro, two sisters of Don Luis Rodríguez Ledesma, lord of the estate of Picón, professed in the convent of Dominicas in Almagro.

121 Archivo Municipal de Vega de Pas.

122 AHN, Consejos, legajo 584, folios 2 and 3 vueltos.

They renounced to their rights and properties, including a rent of 15. 000 reales, in favour of their brother Don Luis, who "in reciprocity, sent them each year for San Andrés two big pigs and some clothes" 123.

¹²³ Díaz Pintado, Conflicto social, marginación y mentalidades en La Mancha (siglo XVIII), p. 164. A similar example of nuns passing their inheritance rights over their brothers is provided by the sisters of Enlightened governant Jovellanos, whose studies were paid in this way, in chapter III.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR IN MID 18TH CENTURY .

1. The Catastro de Ensenada (1752) as a source to study the organization of labour in 18th century Spain.

In the last years, the Catastro de Ensenada has been recognized as the fundamental source to explore the economic basis of 18th century Spain. ¹²⁴

The Cadaster is an ensemble of statistical and fiscal data, collected between 1750 and 1752 in 22 provinces of the old Kingdoms of Castile and León. The massive collection of data intended to serve the establishment of a unified fiscal system (from here the name of Unica Contribución with which it was known at the time) in order to replace the many different existing local taxes, to reduce the costs of tax collection, and to increase, as a consequence, the revenues of the Royal Hacienda. ¹²⁵

The base of this fiscal project was the imposition of taxes on wealth -the General Tax- and on personal productive activity -the Personal Tax-. Establishment of this second tax required collection of information on the structure of activity of each town, which took place within limitations that will be described later.

Data were collected locally and organized in two main bodies: the Respuestas de las justicias y peritos, commonly known as Respuestas generales, and the Memoriales, or Declarations that each householder had to give, known

¹²⁴ "The thousands of volumes of the catastro of Ensenada containing detailed information on the ownership of property throughout Castile (...) are today one of the most remarkable sources anywhere of information on the society and economy of a preindustrial state." Herr, Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime, p. 10.

¹²⁵ The first study on the Catastro was by Antonio Matilla Tascón, La Unica Contribución y el Catastro del Marqués de la Ensenada. The Ministerio de Hacienda has recently published a history of Spanish Cadasters, El Catastro en España, 1714-1906, that includes an essay by C. Calvo Alonso, "El Catastro de Ensenada. Proyecto de Unica contribución en la Corona de Castilla". An extensive study on the Catastro and the process of data collection in the province of Burgos (then including the current province of Santander) is Concepción Camarero Bullón, Burgos y el Catastro de Ensenada, Caja de Ahorros de Burgos, 1992.

as Respuestas particulares. Two Libros de 'lo real', one for the secular population, and one for the ecclesiastical population, with the relation of proprietors and their goods (land, houses, livestock, etc.), were also completed, as well as a Libro de casas, and the Mapas or general summaries of the data included in the different books and declarations.

The Respuestas generales are the answers given by local authorities to a printed questionnaire of 40 questions regarding the administrative situation of the town, its limits, situation, and population; qualities of the soil and crops; systems of cultivo; industrial, agricultural and livestock production; buildings; communal properties; public revenues and expenditures; activities of the 'services' sector; convents, and properties and rents belonging to the king. This questionnaire or Interrogatorio was printed and sent to every town. Plate 4 reproduces the cover page of the Interrogatorio and the first ten questions. Data supplied by the towns followed carefully the questions.

The Memoriales, or householders' schedules, were the personal declarations of householders. These listed all the individuals living in the said house (relatives and servants), their occupations and properties. This information was checked by local officials who compiled from these data a book of the town's properties. According to Concepción Camarero, the Memoriales are "the fundamental piece of the Catastro, the axis that governs the entire work, the starting point of all the Cadastral documentation".¹²⁶

They have been systematically used as a source in this research, in place of the Respuestas generales. The reason is that an intense process of "translation" took place, by which information provided by householders was structured and organized by the Cadaster officials in order to compile the Respuestas generales. As a result, much data was dismissed or ignored. Ten groups of data that appeared in the Memoriales but were systematically excluded from the

¹²⁶ Camarero, Burgos y el Catastro de Ensenada, p. 200.

Two lines of evidence are presented in the report. The first is a comparison of the results of the two studies. The second is a comparison of the results of the two studies with the results of the study by [redacted] and [redacted].

... de Hacienda has recently published a book that includes an essay by ... in Corona de Castilla ... in the province of Burgos ...

[illegible]

INTERROGATORIO

*A QUE HAN DE SATISFACER, BAJO
de Juramento, las Justicias, y demás Personas, que han de
comparecer los Intendentes en cada Pueblo.*

- A.
1. Còmo se llama la Poblacion.
 2. Si es de Realengo, ò de Señorio: à quièn pertenece: què derechos percibe, y quanto producen.
 3. Què territorio ocupa el Termino, quanto de Levante à Poniente, y del Norte al Sur: y quanto de circunferencia, por horas, y leguas: què linderos, ò confrontaciones; y què figura tiene, poniendola al margen.
 4. Què especies de Tierra se hallan en el Termino; si de Regadío, y de Secano, distinguiendo si son de Hortaliza, Sembradura, Viñas, Pastos, Bosques, Matorrales, Montes, y demás, que pudiere haver, explicando si hay algunas, que produzcan mas de una Cosecha al año, las que fructificaren sola una, y las que necesitan de un año de intermedio de descanso.
 5. De quantas calidades de Tierra hay en cada una de las especies, que hayan declarado, si de buena, mediana, è inferior.
 6. Si hay algun Plantío de Arboles en las Tierras, que han declarado, como Frutales, Moreras, Olivos, Higueras, Almendros, Parras, Algarrobos, &c.
 7. En quales de las Tierras están plantados los Arboles, que declararen.
 8. En què conformidad están hechos los Plantíos, si extendidos en toda la tierra, ò à las margenes: en una, dos, tres hileras; ò en la forma que estuvieren.
 9. De què medidas de Tierra se usa en aquel Pueblo: de quantos passos, ò varas Castellanas en quadro se componen: què cantidad de cada especie de Granos, de los que se cogen en el Termino, se siembra en cada una.
 10. Què numero de medidas de Tierra havrà en el Termino, distinguiendo las de cada especie, y calidad: por exemplo: Tantas Fanegas, ò del nombre, que tuviesse la medida.

INTERROGATORIO

A QUE HAY DE DITIZAR EN EL
Interrogatorio, las preguntas, y respuestas, y en el
Interrogatorio, las preguntas, y respuestas, y en el

Como se llama la Interrogatorio.
1. Si es de Interrogatorio, o de Interrogatorio, o de Interrogatorio.
2. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
3. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
4. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
5. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
6. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
7. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
8. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
9. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.
10. Que Interrogatorio ocupa el Interrogatorio, y que Interrogatorio.

Respuestas generales have been identified. ¹²⁷ Five of them concern work: double occupations (one occupation was recorded and the other ignored), data on contracts between masters and apprentices, occupation of absent husbands, occupation of day labourers (extremely varied and interesting to reconstruct subsistence activities), and finally "all women's work, not recorded in official books except when related to industry or trades although in the Memoriales usually appears".

Five of the 40 questions posed by the Interrogatorio were related to work and can, hence, be used as a source for the organization of work in mid-18th century.

No. 25 asked "what expenses must the Town Council satisfy, such as the salary of the Justice and Regidores, feast day of Corpus Xti, and others, Maintenance of cobbles, Fountains, Servants, etc., of which true account must be given."

No. 32 asked "If in the Town there is any Trader of fabrics, Gold, Silver and Silk Clothes, Linen, Spices or other goods, Doctors, Surgeons, Pharmacists, Clerks, Muleteers, etc., and how much they can earn each year".

These two questions referred to individuals with earnings not regulated as a daily wage. This included functionaries and any other worker paid by the town Council (doctors, administrators of public rents, tax collectors, sacristans, sometimes teachers), as well as any other traders and professionals.

No. 33 asked "Which occupations of mechanical Arts there are in the Town, with their distinction, such as Masons, quarry Workers, Albeytares, Herreros, Cord-makers, Shoemakers, Tailors, Perayres, Weavers, Hatmakers, Manguiteros and Glove-makers, etc. explaining for each occupation the existing number of Masters, Officials, and Apprentices, and how much they can earn each day, only working at their speciality."

This question referred to individuals making their living from dealing and commerce. A distinction was made between those who live from selling

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 201. However, memoriales are not generally used by historians, who rely on the Respuestas generales. Richard Herr, who does an extensive use of the Cadaster in Agrarian Change and Royal finances, fails even to mention them. pp. 159-163.

goods produced by themselves, and those who live from selling, or dealing with, goods produced by others, although many towns specified that there were individuals producing and dealing with a product, like bread makers. In Almagro, chocolate-makers were not included among the artisans, although they were considered as masters: "the Masters, for the part they have in dealing and commerce, are included in answer number thirty two."

No. 35 asked "What number of *Jornaleros* there are in the Town, and how much their daily wage is." Answers to this latter question often include comments on the seasonality of the local demand for day labourers. Most towns considered 180 taxable working days per year for artisans but, as will be seen later, Cadaster officials unified the responses considering 120 working days per year.

Lastly, question no. 36 asked how many poor there were. They need to be separately considered as well, for they often appear indistinctly classified as jornaleros.

Utilization of the Cadaster's responses as a source to establish the occupational structure of the population poses the fundamental problem of interpreting the meaning of its data.

Criteria used by the Cadaster to define individuals reflected a society in which status, the individual's position in a hierarchy, defined the social structure and, only to a lesser extent, the individual's occupation.¹²⁸

This left its mark on the censuses: "While the strictly economic dimension of occupation is often omitted, the social dimension of the (...) status is often carefully mentioned in 17th and 18th censuses. Some of them are honorary, such as noble titles or ecclesiastical dignitaries. Others exemplify the

¹²⁸ "The kind of society which existed in western Europe prior to the industrial revolution was certainly hierarchical in character. The distinctions between men were described in term of ranks, orders and degrees (...) Pre-industrial society is generally viewed as a kind of a pyramid, with the monarchy at the apex, then the peerage, the gentry (major and minor nobility, in effect), yeomen and husbandmen (farmers), labourers and cottagers, and finally paupers. This was the fundamental structure of rural society and merchants, craftsmen, tradesmen and artificers might fit into the basic structure at various points...". W.A. Armstrong, "The use of information about occupation", in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth-century society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data, pp.191-310.

torrent of scorn expressed for the poor and the foreign".¹²⁹

In utilizing the Catastro as a source to know the work organization of mid-18th century society, two main problems can be identified:

First, there is a pattern of identifying of all male householders with an activity, as if they were occupied on it around the year. This distorts reality, by excess and by defect. In the latter regard it fails to report pluriactivity and seasonality, two important features of 18th century work, particularly in the countryside. This identification also distorts by excess because day labourers are recorded as if they were occupied as such during the year. In areas where day labourers were an important part of the population, they had in fact few opportunities to work outside of the seasonal peaks marked by harvest or grape collection. The Cadaster fails to reflect this, underrecording unemployment and underemployment.

Secondly, there was a systematic failure to record activities performed by women. It is not that the Cadaster identifies only householders with an activity: males who were not householders were recorded in a group named 'young men over 18' (and an income attached, even if they earned no money). At the same time, female householders (unmarried and widows) were not identified with an activity. As a result, all activities performed by women, even those for the market, disappear.

The decision of the Cadaster officials to exclude women's work from the recording was very controversial and a cause of confusion for census makers. The question was discussed by the Council of Castile, in Sala de Unica Contribución, the committee in charge of solving the many doubts and problems posed by the questionnaire. Many of these problems and doubts regarded precisely women's work.

One of these doubts originated in Almagro, where the catastro makers consulted whether they should include the earnings of lace makers. The official response was that "the salaries, wages and other gains acquired by female Servants and Women be considered within the Industrial branch, excluding only

¹²⁹ E. Hélin, "The Meaning of Occupation in Census Data", unpublished paper, 1990, p. 6.

the work they put into the lands they cultivate which are owned by their Husbands".¹³⁰ Some months later, on January 14, 1752, the Junta resolved and officially communicated to all local officials that "works done by women in the lands of their husbands, lords or masters must not be included in the Personal [tax] (...) but it should include that done in all the industrial [activities] in which there are deals and profits." This was later extended to "women cloth-makers, needle workers and others who had personal trade or work"¹³¹.

Camarero mentions another case of doubts arising from the recording of women's work: in the town of Arcos, where bread making was an important industrial activity, women worked along with their husbands in the bakeries, and the catastro makers included both men and women as bakers. Provincial officials, however, disagreed with this inclusion, noting that "all wives help their husbands, be these farmers or traders". In its resolution of the case, the Junta Central decreed that "utilities of bakers must be calculated without considering any salaries or wages to their wives"¹³².

Discussing the figure of 120 working days fixed by the Cadaster officials, which has been taken by some historians as the actual working period in agricultural tasks, Camarero has argued that the Cadaster did not intend to describe the actual period of work. Rather, such a figure "was probably a substitute for old personal prestations to the lord or the king (...) this explains why women and males under 18 and over 60 or unable to work never appear as contributors of the personal tax, but only male, lay, of the general state, and suitable for work appear." (p. 302).

Hence the Cadaster's failure to record women's work should be interpreted in terms of their traditional nonexistence as tax payers.

¹³⁰ Representation of the City of Almagro to the count of Bonajiar, April 29, 1751. AHCR, Hacienda, leg. 789.

¹³¹ Camarero, *ob. cit.*, p. 308.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 310. This exclusion was regarded as unfair from the point of view of the tax system. The official in charge of the data collection in Galicia criticized the fact that no utilities were being charged to single women, of which some 15.000 were needle workers, earning a lot of money that then spent in clothes and shoes.

What these doubts and conflicting views reveal is that the identification of workers required by the Cadaster, necessary to the imposition of a new fiscal system, was undertaken within the framework of a changing definition of worker.

Apparently, "worker" referred to the individual who worked for the market. Most people knew in mid-18th century that the condition of "worker" was not simply that (as proved by the fact that most towns recorded their "workers" without hesitation). The problem arose when some local officials recorded workers *as if* they were all the individuals working for the market. The fact that the Junta Central had to issue a number of official resolutions to explain that *married women were not workers* indicates the social nature of the emerging definition of work.

Under recording of women's work, and particularly of married women's work, is not exclusive to this Cadaster. Rather, it seems the norm for the recording and classification of individuals in all European countries until very recently.¹³³ As for women's agricultural work, it is noticeable that its existence is regarded by demographers as the reason for seasonal fluctuations in fecundity and birth trends (with summer periods, at the moment of harvest, being the lowest of the year), while at the same time ignored by economic historians.

Overlapping with the problems originating from the source itself are problems arising from the use that historians make of it. Changes in the distribution of the labour force are regarded as most indicative of economic development. Continuous falls in the numbers of individuals engaged in agricultural work, and subsequent increase of the numbers of workers in industrial and tertiary sectors are interpreted as indicators of an increase in agricultural productivity, and as a basis for the development of an industrialized economy.

The typical pattern of use for this purpose of the Cadaster's data follows a two-steps procedure: first, all male householders and all males non-

¹³³ E. Higgs, "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses", *History Workshop Journal*, 23, 1987, pp 59-80.

householders over 18 are defined as the "active population". Then, their activities are grouped according to the traditional three-sector structure of occupations: agriculture, manufactures and services. ¹³⁴

The problems deriving from this type of analysis can be summarized in a two-fold manner: first, the implicit division of the population between "active" and "non-active" poses the problem of the definition of worker and non worker. According to these works "worker" is any male individual 18 and over, while "non-worker" is any female individual as well as males under 18 and over 60.

A second problem arises from the idea that individuals can be defined as occupied either in manufactures, or services, or agricultural work. If this is problematic for Western contemporary societies, it is much more so for individuals of the 18th century peasant world. As studies on the peasant economy and society show, this assumption is far from what the actual organization of peasant activity was like. ¹³⁵

A recent work on mid-18th century Spain that relies heavily on the Catastro in Richard Herr's Rural change and royal finances in Spain at the end of the old regime. After describing the Catastro as a excellent source, Herr undertakes the in-depth study of seven towns and villages in Castile and Andalucía. The first of the towns studied is La Mata, in the province of Salamanca, of which Herr describes the structure of the local labour force, the farmers and day labourers, the muleteers, herdsman...: "Meanwhile the wives kept the hearths alive, prepared the thick bread soup and supper, washed and mended the clothes, and in the fall made the *farinato* sausages of pork and crumbs."¹³⁶

As this quote suggests, historians are not being very imaginative in

¹³⁴ Parejo Barranco, Industria dispersa e industrialización en Andalucía. El textil antequerano (1752-1900), is a good example.

¹³⁵ Pluriactivity was a characteristic feature of peasant societies. In Spain, the reedition of the works of Le Play, who in mid-19th century described some instances of peasant societies stressing how peasant families combined agriculture with transportation, manufactures, and seasonal work in mines, has led to a new interest on pluriactivity.

¹³⁶ Herr, Rural change, p. 207.

reconstructing women's and children labour.

In fact, in trying to reconstruct the organization of labour in 18th century Spain, we encounter the limitations of the Cadaster as a source, and also problems stemming from the way in which historians have explained the limitations of sources such as this Cadaster. Under recording of married women's work has been described as deriving from its own characteristics: "It is rare that the census reports in detail the work performed by married women. Much of their income-generating activity within historical societies, whether payment was to be in money or kind, was intermittent and/or part-time and was easy for the census authorities to under-value" ¹³⁷.

This interpretation (a), ignores the actual organization of labour in peasant societies, implying that male labour was full-time, continuous throughout the year ¹³⁸, and (b), prevents the historian from searching for alternative explanations for the underreporting of women's work.

This chapter intends to reconstruct the organization of labour in the three areas described in chapter I. It does so by using the Cadaster as the main source. While it is true that the Cadaster gives a picture of the social structure of the society, more than of its occupational structure, this structure was organized hierarchically, and work played a special role in this hierarchy.

Research on the labour organization of 18th century society can benefit from this massive amount of information only after a careful analysis of the implicit and explicit definitions of work used by the Cadaster: in the Questionnaire, in the instructions later given by the Cadaster officials, in the manner in which local officials interpreted these instructions, and in the way householders interpreted the questions, and responded to them.

In order to obtain an understanding that better accounts for the

¹³⁷ R. Wall, "The contribution of married women to the family economy under different family systems: some examples from the mid-nineteenth century from the work of Frédéric Le Play", p.139.

¹³⁸ For a characterization of wage labour in 18th century England as basically irregular and uncertain, John Rule, The experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry, specially ch. 2, "Uncertainty, Irregularity, Hours and Wages".

development of market relations of production in peasant societies, I have used the Cadaster following an alternative method: first, I have analyzed the questions of the Interrogatorio general regarding work or workers.

Activities mentioned, grouped according to the traditional sectorial pattern, are shown in Table II. 1.

Table II. 1. Groups of activities recorded by the Cadaster				
	Agric+ Breeding	Manufactures	Services	Total
Vega de Pas	2	1	4	6
Almagro	18	38	26	82
Rute	5	37	31	73

With this data I have then described the organization of labour in each of the three areas by sectors and the gender structure of occupation.

An alternative description of the local organization of labour has been developed which I hope is closer to that which actually existed. Different sources have been used: in the first place, when available, the Memoriales or householders's schedules, which provide non systematic, but nevertheless very valuable, data on occupations of non-householders. These data have been then linked to data from other sources, mostly description of local activities.

Finally, alternative tables have been constructed to show the local organization of labour by sectors, by wage levels and by sex.

While the first of the three cases is a quite homogeneous economy, with ecological conditions imposing livestock breeding as the main activity, both Almagro and Rute were towns of around 4. 000 individuals, with a strong urban character and a great variety of occupations. They have been grouped by the position of the workers in relation to the market:

a. Wage workers: individuals working for wages (these being in kind, money or both). They include workers of the flocks, agricultural workers, and domestic workers (servants, laundresses, wet nurses). Apprentices of artisans are

also included, as well as State officials and 'white collar' workers (accountants, lawyers).

b. 'Self employed' individuals, owning small businesses or working their own lands or livestock. This group includes farmers, stock breeders, artisans, traders, shop keepers, and domestic manufacturers: individuals who worked at home for the market, and also services.

c. Family workers, either full-time family workers, like children and women with housework as their only occupation, or part-time family workers, like most other women.

d. 'Non-working population': the noble who declare to be "without occupation", the crippled, the elderly, and the ecclesiastic population.

Attention will be paid to the different ways in which work and workers were described, for ideas on work and workers are also part of the working organization of society. I will argue that by discussing the different, sometimes contradictory, ideas on work and workers provided by the Cadaster, by the different individuals and institutions speaking through it, the Cadaster becomes, from source, object in itself; and that it is specially worth analyzing it in this way, for the Cadaster was completed at a moment when a new social understanding of labour was developing.

2. Montes de Pas.

As chapter I has shown, the property system, based in small family plots, had created a homogeneous pattern of family farms in Montes de Pas. The structure of activity of the region appears also extremely homogeneous, with all men defining themselves as engaged in the agricultural sector.

Table II. 2. Montes de Pas. Male agricultural workers, 1752

	Farmers	Male dependants 18 and over	Male servants
San Roque	178	62	--
Vega de Pas	470	100	8
San Pedro	273	119	--
Total	921	281	8

According to the Respuestas generales of the Cadaster, in San Roque and San Pedro, where the structure of land/cattle ownership was very similar, all men were occupied in farming and grazing.

In San Pedro del Romeral the only exception was the small group of clergymen, formed by a prior (only rest of a small group of monks established in the 16th century), a parish priest and a priest who is said to be a parish priest of Alcalá de Henares (a town in the province of Madrid), but a native of San Pedro and resident here with his family.¹³⁹ The Memoriales of San Pedro, where householders declared the individuals living in their houses, mention the existence of three maid servants ignored by the Respuestas generales: the prior lived with a maid servant and had a horse, the parish priest lived with a nephew and a maid servant (annually paid 4 ducados) and the parish priest of Alcalá had a maid servant who was annually paid twelve and a half ducados.

In Vega de Pas the occupational structure was slightly more complex, showing two main differences compared to San Roque and San Pedro. The first

¹³⁹ R. Arroyo, "Noticias inéditas de la villa de San Pedro del Romeral, a mediados del siglo XVIII", p. 313.

is the existence of agricultural wage workers. Whilst in San Pedro and San Roque the only wage workers were the three maid servants of the priests, in the two books of the Cadaster remaining of the original three corresponding to La Vega, five householders declared to have male servants working on their farms (which means that a total of perhaps eight existed). Two of them were natives of Vega de Pas and one was a native of San Pedro del Romeral.

The second difference between Vega de Pas and the other two Pasiego towns was a slightly higher division of labour: Santiago Gómez Santayana is recorded as a tailor and a few more instances of artisans are likely to have been in the missing book. The question of the non-agricultural population deserves in fact closer attention.

Manufactures and services in Montes de Pas

Activities other than grazing were undoubtedly performed by inhabitants of the Pasiego towns. Stoneworkers and carpenters existed, some of them very skilled and proud enough of their technical capacities as to have engraved their names on the doors of the cabañas they built. But if construction activities resemble today what they were like in mid-18th century this under recording is easy to understand. Although in each of the Pasiego villages there are some men who are known as carpenters or stonecutters, vecinos who need their services must wait until the season of grass cutting is over, in September, to call them. In other words, non-agricultural activities were undertaken only during the periods in which the main activity, grazing, left some time free, and they are unlikely to have regarded themselves as occupied in trades.

Remains still exist in the area of some cloth mills, where Pasiego people made blankets and wool cloths for their consumption. This activity took place only during the spring months, when the stream power was sufficient to move the mills.

Despite abundant evidence of activities other than grazing in the Pasiego towns, Pasiego men defined themselves, almost in their totality, as farmers. It could be that these activities were undertaken during some periods of the year, and so were regarded as 'complements' to the main activity; it could also be that the dominance of grazing as a cultural model, defining the identity of Pasiego

people, led them to define themselves as such even when their main source of income came from other activities.

Whatever the reason, the occupational structure described by the Cadaster is very simple and extremely homogeneous: adult men, and only them, formed the active population, comprising two groups, male householders, and male helpers over 18 (most of them relatives, such as sons). All of them declared to be occupied in the same activity, farming/grazing; family farms were the unit of production. Hence work was, with few exceptions, family (non waged) work.

So, according to the Catastro, the only difference in the occupational status of men depended not on their relation to wage or family labour, their degree of skill or their activity, but on their family status, which in turn depended on their position within the life-cycle: single male relatives of the head of the household (usually sons) working in the family farm were described as "agricultural labourers". After their marriage, a new household (cabaña, land and cattle) was settled, the former "worker" becoming then a farmer.

This apparently very simple structure of activity was of course *an image, an interpretation*, more than a description of the work organization.

The Pasiego productive system is based upon family work and cannot exist without it. I argue that analyzing the labour demands of this productive system can provide us with a more accurate idea of the local work organization than the figures from the Catastro. Not only because farms required more workers than the male farmer described by the census.¹⁴⁰ It is the specialization in cattle breeding that indicates family work. While in other cattle-breeding regions cattle was stabled (raised in a stable), and fed with grass grown and cut, vegetables, etc., in Pas cattle were migrant. This trashumance took place within the limits of the Pas Mountains because, being small proprietors, Pasiego farmers took their cattle to their own meadows, rotating the cattle movement during the year in order to take the best possible advantage of the grass.

Table III. 3. shows the cycle of trashumance of the cattle in Pas as described

¹⁴⁰ In fact, other peasant economies based on family work were able to survive with only an adult worker, who was usually the wife in Galicia and areas of Asturias where men became temporary or seasonal migrants.

in the 1960's. Even if trashumance was less intense in the 18th than in the 19th and 20th centuries, its existence required the periodical separation of families. This was especially the case during the summer, when one of the parents, usually the husband, and some children would take part of the herd to the higher pastures, while the wife and children remained with pregnant cows and very young calves nearer the town, in charge of producing and marketing dairy produce. This system was only possible if at least two adults worked on the farm. As wage work seems to have been an exception, other members of the family besides the head had to be involved in the cycle of farming work.¹⁴¹

Table II. 3. The Transhumance cycle in Montes de Pas

7 Braniza	end May-end July harvest <i>retoño</i> .	end Sept. graze brena		
6 Ladera	<i>June-July</i> 8 days harvest <i>retoño</i>	mid-Sept. graze brena	until end Nov. graze brena	end April stall feeding
5 Ladera	<i>June 8 days</i> harvest <i>retoño</i>	Sept. 18-20 days graze brena	graze brena	April 15-20 days stall feeding
4 Ladera	<i>June 8 days</i> harvest <i>retoño</i>	August-Sept. 8-15 days graze brena	graze brena	end March-early April 15-20 days stall feeding
3 Ladera	<i>June 8 days</i> harvest <i>retoño</i>	August-Sept 8-15 days graze brena	graze brena	March stall feeding
2 Ladera	<i>early June 8 days</i> harvest <i>retoño</i>	August 8-15 days, graze brena	graze brena	February stall feeding
1 Ribera	May graze <i>retoño</i> some stall feeding	<i>early July 8 days</i> harvest <i>brena</i>	early Oct. graze brena	Dec.-January graze brena

¹⁴¹ Freeman, p. 2. Meadows are listed by altitude in ascending order from bottom of table. Movements of harvesters are shown in italics.

This pattern of trashumant cattle breeding, together with dairy production, required the constant work of all family members. For instance, evidence on the fundamental importance of childrens' work since very young ages to run the farm and take care of the livestock is abundant, and has been a major problem for their schooling until recently. To take into account this feature of the Pasiego organization of labour, a reconstruction of its occupational structure alternative to that offered by the Cadaster must redefine Pasiego active population as to include all men and women between 10 and 65.

The second element of this alternative reconstruction of the occupational structure concerns the closer than apparent links with the market economy, including the frequency of wage labour.

Chapter I described two conditionants that led to specialization in cattle breeding: one ecological, the impossibility, in an alpine area, of using the soil for agriculture, and the other financial, the heavy indebtedness of Pasiego towns arising from the long conflict followed in the 17th century against the Carriedo Valley, to gain their jurisdictional independance, that required heavy payments by all householders.¹⁴²

These factors favoured an almost total dependance of the Pasiego economy on the market. At its own time, this economy based on contacts with distant markets developed (and it was possible by) a local culture where mobility was essential. From some-hours long walks to the nearby markets, to the few hundreds of Kms. to urban centers like Madrid, to travelling to the American colonies, moving was a fundamental part of Pasiego identity.

As will be described here, mobility was a structural element of the Pasiego economy, and was at the basis of the Pasiego organization of labour, a feature that has been defined as common to all alpine economies. Like in the Pasiego society, mobility began in alpine communities of Italy and France with constant trashumance of animals and people from the higher to the lower meadows, and was reinforced by the strong seasonality of the labour demands of the farms. This allowed the development of a seasonal pattern of activity with summers devoted

¹⁴² Leal, *De aldea a villa. Historia chica de las Tres Villas Pasiegas*, pp. 30 and fol.

mainly to the cutting and storing of the grass, and winters to seasonal employment in trade activities outside the region. ¹⁴³

Dairy production and transportation

Agriculture was hardly productive due to the marginal character of most land, and to the egalitarian system of inheritance that, after continuous partition, had resulted in too small plots. Like other mountaneous regions in Europe, Pas would become during the 18th and 19th centuries the origin of temporary, seasonal and permanent migrations.

Pasiego family farms marketed part of their production: fruits, honey, wax for candles, certain implements and wooden tools, such as carrying baskets, wooden rakes and clogs, and "colleras", or cattle halters. But it was dairy production which would become a Pasiego specialization, to the point that the region became identified as producer of butter and cheese.

Dairy production had been a traditional way of marketing the milk, that had necessarily to be transformed given long distances to the markets. Evidence of Pasiego women transporting and selling the dairy produced by themselves or other women of their families is documented for as early as the 16th century. In 1586 Pasiegos explained that "con las crías del ganado se causa tener bastimentos queso y manteca para la Casa R.l de su Magestad y para la ciudad de Burgos, Nájera, Logroño, Santo Domingo, Vitoria, Bilbao y otras villas y lugares" ¹⁴⁴. And in 1593 the officials in the nearby town of Espinosa de los Monteros tried to regulate the selling of cheese and butter, forbidding Pasiego women to "salir a los caminos" to sell their products, which they did instead of entering the towns, to

¹⁴³ This pattern has been described for the Italian Alps by Dionigi et al., 1988. For the French Alps, L. Fontaine, "Solidarités familiales et logiques migratoires en pays de montagne à l'époque moderne", *Annales*, 6, 1990, pp. 1433-1450.

¹⁴⁴ García-Lomas, ob.cit., p. 312.

avoid paying taxes for their trade. ¹⁴⁵

Pasiego dairy never developed into an important manufacture. Some attempts were made in the last decades of the 18th century to convert it into an 'industry' ¹⁴⁶, but never took hold. Pasiego dairying remained as a domestic activity, done by women at a family scale, and probably not very profitable.

The comparative advantage that Pasiegos may have enjoyed as traditional producers could not compensate for the apparently low quality of the product and its too short period of conservation (salt was not used, due perhaps to its high price). The gradual loss of the urban markets (in late 18th century the town of Santander was already favouring butter from Flanders and Holland) will be described in chapter IV.

The isolation to which bad communications and long distances from urban centers would expect to have condemned the region was overturned by the initiative of its inhabitants, who tirelessly walked roads which no animals could traverse, transporting their dairy products to the local markets. Short-distance movements to near-by markets (in order to sell their dairy products, later for smuggling), seem to have played an important role as they provided Pasiego people with the habit of movement, contacts with towns and urban markets, etc.

Temporary migrations appear as a natural outcome of the traditional economy: constant moves that cattle breeding required, transport and commerce had made Pasiego people familiar with roads. ¹⁴⁷ Travellers describe men and women walking down the paths, helped by long sticks, to the nearby markets,

¹⁴⁵ Real provisión ejecutoria ganada en juicio contradictorio por el año de 1593 para que las revendedoras de queso y manteca no puedan comprarlo en los caminos, Archivo Municipal de Espinosa de los Monteros (Burgos), sección Administración general, legajo 673.

¹⁴⁶ Rafael Domínguez mentions one of these projects, by an entrepreneur of the city of Santander, who specifically mentions the Pasiego area as the ideal to develop it. Actividades comerciales y Transformaciones Agrarias en Cantabria, 1750-1850, p. 137.

¹⁴⁷ A witness called to the trial of 1689 said that "as a boy, young man and married man, he has walked all over these Mountains, working in the sale and purchase of small and large livestock, of wool and cattle, as well as herding them. And pasturing them, he has a special knowledge of these lands." Leal, ob.cit.,p.60.

carrying their products at their backs, in big carrying baskets called cuévanos. In the householders' schedules of San Roque de Riomiera only 8 of the 292 declared to own a horse or a mare for "the government of his cattle". No other animals of transportation, such as mules, donkeys or oxes, are mentioned.

By the second half of the 18th century, this successful adaptation to the conditions had led to a growth of population that was excessive for the valley. Commerce, initially limited to the marketing of the products of the family farm, became the main activity of many Pasiegos, and solved the demographic surplus of the region. Pasiego women and men began to frequent urban markets, first as itinerant sellers specialized in fabrics and clothes.

Smuggling of silks

Butter and cheese produced by Pasiego farms were joined in the 18th-century by smuggling goods, first muslins, later tobacco. Smuggling has been identified as one of the main activities of poor European peasants in the 18th century, when unorganized tax systems permitted great differences in tax rates among regions and countries. ¹⁴⁸

The knowledge of Pasiego people of the most inaccessible paths linking Castile with the Cantabric seaports allowed them to successfully occupy themselves in the smuggling of articles from the French border and the Basque provinces, mainly textiles (silks, muslins) that they then took to Madrid and other towns. The combination butter- muslins became very popular: "No verás una pasiega/vendiendo tela y manteca/sin delantal bien cumplido/y colgando una tijera" ¹⁴⁹.

Pasiegos were identified with peddling in fabrics as early as in the last decades of the 18th century. References to Pasiego women selling second-hand clothes and fabrics exist in Madrid and other cities. At the beginning of the 19th

¹⁴⁸ Olwen Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth Century France, specially ch. IX, 'Smuggling'.

¹⁴⁹ "You will not see a Pasiego woman/selling fabrics and butter/without a good apron/and a good pair of scissors dangling." García-Lomas, ob. cit., p.156.

century “existed in Granada, near the Cathedral, the ‘Plaza de las Pasiegas’, so called since 1807 because some Pasiego women had their fabric stores in it” 150.

The dedication of Pasiego people to peddling as a seasonal activity is coherent with the pattern that has been described as characteristic of the population of other European mountaneous regions. 151

Long-distance trade: clothes and fabrics

References to Pasiego men, and more often women, selling fabrics and clothes exist already for mid-18th century. In Madrid, since at least the second half of the 18th century the Plaza de Santa Cruz, near the Plaza Mayor, was frequented by Pasiego itinerant sellers, who sold the muslins obtained from smuggling through the Basque provinces, fiscally exempted.

An advertisement of fashion fabrics appeared in the *Diario* on September, 30, 1802, read: “In the stand that Pasiego women have in the plaza de Santa Cruz there is a great assortment of fine “spotted” of high quality and fashion designs”.

Pasiego women would transport to Madrid clothes and manufactures that they themselves would then sell in the streets or to other retail dealers. With a basket at their backs full of rolls of fabrics, a meter and a pair of scissors hanging from the women’s delantal to measure and cut the pieces of fabrics, this is how Pasiego people were known in Madrid in the second half of the 18th century. Plate 5 shows a Pasiego woman advertising her merchandise, muslins and cuts for chalecos. She was easily identified by contemporaries as a Pasiego woman by her dress, her incorrect pronunciation, and her carrying basket.

The fact that this process was not reflected in the censuses (no trader or dealer is mentioned in the Cadaster) illustrates the difference between activities undertaken individually, often very profitable, and the permanence of farming/grazing as the family’s main occupation and source of Pasiego identity.

This intense commercial activity not only provided the Pasiegos with an

150 Gallego y Burín, *Guía de Granada*, p. 503.

151 Fontaine, 1984 y 1993.



Medias y Calceñas.



Musculina y Curtes de Chelcus

...the Plaza de la ...
...that fabric ...
...as a ...
...as a ...

...women, ...
...since at ...
...the Plaza ...
...the ...

...in the Diario ...
...in the plaza ...
...high quality and fashion ...
...clothes and many ...
...other retail ...
...a pair of ...
...pieces of fabric ...
...half of the ...
...merchandise, ...
...libraries as a ...
...basket

...the censuses ...
...the difference between ...
...and the ...
...source of ...
...provided the ...

...

important source of income: by requiring frequent and long distance moves outside the region, making Pasiegos familiar with roads and urban labour markets, it worked as a first stage of what would become an important flow of permanent migration. Pasiego men, sometimes with their families, established two types of business: fabric stores and vaquerías, first in the towns next to the region, by the 19th century in Santander and Madrid and even the American colonies.

With regard to migration outside Spain, there is evidence of Pasiegos working in the American colonies before the 18th century. In the second half of the 18th century, the Cadaster mentions few householders absent: in Vega de Pas, Don Pedro Antonio Madrazo, marquis of Valle de Colina, is mentioned as resident in Mexico, while Leonardo Diego Madrazo is absent in Orán (probably as a soldier).

As with many others from the province of Santander, some of these Pasiego migrants were successful. In 1784, Don Juan de Rebuelta Fernández Alonso, from San Roque, died in the Mexican town of Santa Fé, where he was "householder and of the Trade", leaving a small fortune, part of which was devoted to the creation of the first school of San Roque.¹⁵²

Wage labour as a complementary source of income for family farms.

In mid-18th century, instances of wage work appear very occasionally in the Pas. In San Roque there is only a reference to a young woman working at one of the mills, which functioned during the winter and spring time. In Vega de Pas there are seven, all of them of men who are identified as servants.

Besides these scattered references, the local economy seems to have been based on family, unpaid labour. Wage labour appears as a mechanism external to the Pasiego society, yet very much sought after.

The first instance of wage work that we know of is from the second half of

¹⁵² According to his will, he left 14.000 pesos, of which 2.000 pesos to each of his two sisters in San Roque, 6.000 to his nephews during 8 years, after which they had also to be sent to his sisters, and 4.000 pesos for the foundation of the school. AHN, Clero, libro 11.584.

the 18th century. In the 1780's, Pasiegos were carrying coal for the nearby shipyard of La Cavada. Jovellanos, reporting to the government in 1791 on the industrial consumption of Asturian coal, observed: "need has discovered a way of transportation that admirably joins the interest of His Majesty and that of His peoples. Coal is currently transported on shoulders by the Pasiegos. In my trips to Lunada and San Roque I met great groups of them who climbed for those high and rough paths with great agility and content. Men, women and children, all carried their baskets loaded and at a good price, from 10 to 12 reales the load, depending on the distance of the mountains." The system is convenient for the State and also for the Pasiegos, who "with no cultivation other than their pastures and no property other than their cattle, multiplied by their frugality and strength" were forced to accept any possibility of income. ¹⁵³

Jovellanos explained somewhere else that "the Pas land includes at least 15. 000 inhabitants and the character of this people, hard and industrious, inclines them naturally to these occupations, compatible with their scarce and ordinary subsistence, based on the raise of few and poor cattle. Men, women, children, all occupy themselves without distinction in this transport, carrying the coal in their cuévanos, with such a zeal that the load of a robust man equals that of a donkey or exceeds it". ¹⁵⁴

Demand for wage workers was more likely to be further distant than this from Pasiego towns. In fact, for Pasiego people, possibilities of working for wages were always associated to the "outside", that is, to the need to migrate. Temporary and, later, permanent migrations, developed increasingly as a fundamental way of obtaining resources additional to the income derived from the family farms.

¹⁵³ "Draft of the informe reservado", in letter to D. Antonio Valdés, 7 sept. 1791, Obras, BAE, vol.IV, p.179 -180.

¹⁵⁴ "Informe reservado sobre el Real establecimiento de La Cavada, December, 12th, 1797, in Informes mineros, BAE, vol. V, p.247.

Temporary employment in the domestic service: wet nurses

The most important of the migratory flows that involved Pasiego people was of the Pasiego women going to Madrid and other cities to work as wet nurses. This migratory flow went on for at least 150 years, probably involving an important percentage of Pasiego women at some time in their lives and, since urban wet nurses were very well paid domestic servants, it generated resources which appear to have been fundamental for the family economies of the women migrants.

In the second half of the 18th century, a series of changes in the wet nursing market increased the opportunities for women from the Northern regions. Influenced by criticisms of doctors and politicians on the high rates of infant mortality (due, according to them, to the practice of taking the babies to the wet nurse's village), urban middle and upper class families began hiring wet nurses at home instead.

The hiring of wet nurses who would live at the parents' home originated a shift in the geography of the market: wet nurses no longer needed to be from areas near the cities and women from distant regions gained access to the wet nursing market. A particular preference of Northern women, who were considered healthier and also of a purer blood (not contaminated by protestant or muslim blood, as was often the case in the Southern regions), eventually became a primary feature of the Madrid market.

The flow of Pasiego women to Madrid started in the last decades of the 18th century. Anthropologist Tax Freeman interviewed in the 1970's some Pasiego women who had worked as wet nurses in different cities. She suggests that their migration started in the first decades of the 19th century.¹⁵⁵

Yet the first advertisement in the *Diario oficial de Avisos de Madrid*, which began being published in 1758, of a wet nurse who identified herself as

¹⁵⁵ "This form of temporary migration of women grew, flourished, and diminished in approximately one century, beginning in the 1830s if not slightly earlier". Tax Freeman, *The Pasiegos. Spaniards in No Mans Land*, p.146-147.

Pasiega appeared in November, 4, 1786.¹⁵⁶ It is likely, however, that by these years a certain number of women from the Cantabric valleys were already working as wet nurses in Madrid. In any case, this marked the beginning of a migration that rapidly organized itself and that would last over 150 years.

the aim of getting employment as wet nurses is what brings these peasant women to Madrid, a few weeks, or even days, after giving birth. 'With bread and wine the road is walked', goes the old Spanish said, and Pasiego women accomplish that said in their trip to Madrid, considering herself very lucky the one who can add to those foodstuffs some other nutritious substance that neither her wealth, nor the assortment of the roads' inns permit to be very select. With this and some semiclothes and semi shoes, that hardly retain the "semi" at the end of the trip, walking during the day, and sleeping during the night over the hard soil, these unhappy ones make their expedition. But their healthiness, their robustness, and strong nature resist everything, and they arrive at Madrid as reddish and fresh as if they would not have passed any privation.¹⁵⁷

Group movements, characteristic of seasonal and temporary migrations, appear also in the flow of Pasiego wet nurses to Madrid. Unlike other migrations, though, the rhythm of this depends on a personal circumstance, the timing of delivery. Women from the same village who had decided to look for a job as wet nurse in town would wait for each other to travel together.

In order to keep their milk, they would carry a puppy with them: "They undertake with virile resolution the path to the Court, either alone and aggregated to a covered wagon, or together some of them and in caravan. The first thing they do, until, as they say, they find arrangement, is to provide themselves with a newly born puppy, which during the expedition works as a baby and applying it to the breast, keeps and maintains the nutritious juice, object of speculation".¹⁵⁸

Once in Madrid, if they did not already have an accommodation, they

156 "reason will be given in San Benito street, house of the Cars master, who will respond by her. And she is Pasiega." The same year advertisements of women defining themselves as "native of the Mountain" or "Montañesa" began to appear. Sarasúa, "Las emigraciones temporales en una economía de minifundio: los Montes de Pas, 1758-1888".

157 Quoted in Sarasúa, "Las emigraciones temporales".

158 Teatro social del siglo XIX, vol. II (1846), quoted in García Lomas, Los pasiegos, p.167.

would repair to the plaza of Santa Cruz, near Plaza Mayor, the town's center. This was surrounded by arcades that harbored fabric stores and it acted, indeed, as an outdoors labour market.

At the plaza de Santa Cruz, in Madrid, there is a daily market of human flesh, whose influence on the customs has not yet been considered. Those who pass, look, see a group of Pasiegas sit on the floor, or on the stones that form the edge of an entrance hall, some with a baby, others without, and without paying more attention, or thinking about it, continue on their way (...) ¿What are these poor and robust Pasiegas doing here, some eating a crumb of bread, some others indicating with their face that they would not mind eating it? ¹⁵⁹.

Pasiego wet nurses offered themselves in the same place where, since at least the second half of the 18th century, Pasiego itinerant sellers were selling their fabrics. Obviously these two migratory flows were connected in more than one way: probably Pasiego women first came to Madrid to work as wet nurses after their women and menfolk had informed them that such a possibility existed. An interesting piece of evidence of this connection is this advertisement of a wet nurse looking for a job: "One of total satisfaction and healthiness solicits a nursling for her place: reason can be found in Toledo street, store of linen from Entrambasaguas" ¹⁶⁰. This street, very near Plaza Mayor, is in the small area of Madrid where Pasiego sellers of fabrics and clothes were concentrated.

So Pasiego wet nurses arrived in Madrid along with relatives or neighbours who came as peddlars, and were helped by them in the first moments of their stay in the capital. Different means of being hired were used:

they came to the Court, they stand in the plaza de Santa Cruz and trusting their fleshy complexion and robust appearance, among other qualities proper of wet nurses, they insert in the Diario de Avisos an advertisement, the tone of which is with small variations as follows: 'X., 23 years old, with milk 4 months old, wants to find a nursling at the parents' home; she is robust and has some one to stand by her. Reason will be given at Barquillo street...' Through this means, or by effect of private recommendations and after the necessary arrangements, the Pasiega enters the home of an opulent family, of a Grande de Espana perhaps, or in the Royal Palace itself, with the object of breastfeeding one or more children successively" ¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in García-Lomas, op. cit., p.166-167.

¹⁶⁰ December, 2, 1801. Entrambasaguas is a village near Lierganes, the natural exit by the North of the Pas valley (see map).

¹⁶¹ A. Esperón, "El Pasiego", Semanario pintoresco español, 1851, pp. 390-392. Wet nurses working for the royal family were chosen by the doctors in their own towns.

Once a family had contacted the wet nurse, she had to go through a medical examination, which was determinant of the selection, and whose procedure is described in all the gynecology books. As these books tell, prospective wet nurses were instructed by colleagues and friends on to how to respond to the doctors' questions. The importance of the physical condition of the wet nurse, and of the quality of her milk, explains how doctors and midwives became heavily involved in the hiring process, often as middlemen.

162

The wet nurse at the parents' house became a characteristic figure of the 19th century urban theatre. The rise in their demand increased their wages, so Pasiego wet nurses became more apt to perform the social function that was such an essential part of their job.

To perform this social function, part of the wet nurse's working day was spent at public places like parks, where she, sometimes with the help of an assistant girl, took the baby. Key element of this new social figure was the uniform, a mistified version of the Northern peasant costume that proclaimed the origin, and, hence, the cost, of the wet nurse. "It is six o'clock. Let us walk towards the Puerta del Sol, but not without first stopping for a while in the gardens in the first part of Alcala street. They are full of children playing, of servant girls, of wet nurses with dresses with blue and red fringes, carrying on their backs, in a bamboo basket covered with a bright scarf, a baby laying among its covers" 163.

"The daily afternoon diversion was the drive on the Prado; amusing for the crowd, perhaps, but where, with the exception of the nurses, all national costume has disappeared", writes a disappointed English woman visiting Madrid

162 In France doctors were very actively involved in the business, and they owned the most important private agency for wet nurses in Paris. F.Fay-Sallois, Les nourrices à Paris au XIXe siècle.

163. Teste, Luis, "Paseo por Madrid", in Viaje por España (1872). On August 19th, 1795, the *Diario* announces: "On sale. A Pasiega dress, of fine cloth, bordered with stripes of fine gold".

in 1866. 164

The pattern of employment at the parents' home had two main variations: families that could afford it kept the wet nurse for around two years, the period for which she is physically able to breastfeed. In this case, the wet nurse remains in the same house for each of her breastfeeding periods, returning to Madrid after each new delivery:

"The Pasiega Santos Diega, just arrived, solicits a nursling at the parents' home: milk two months old; having breastfed at the homes of the Secretario de Cruzada and the Contador de Espolios y Vacantes, 20 months in the first one and two years in the second. They will inform as to their good behaviour and quality" 165.

When the wet nurse was kept only for some months she had to find a new home: "Antonia de Villegas, Montañesa, looks for a nursling at the parents home: she is primeriza, and with milk 6 months old; just finished feeding a girl at D.Vicente Goldoni's, Silver maker, who lives in Olivo baxo street, 13, where she currently is resident, and there the best references will be given", says an advertisement on January, 3, 1805.

Wet-nursing was one of the forms that wage labour adopted in the Pas area. It seems to have been the most profitable, as the maintenance itself of a migratory flow of married women, a very exceptional case, would suggest. But it also existed as temporary or seasonal forms of work.

Yet wage work developed in Pas not as a consequence of growing social differentiation, but as a temporary mechanism that made possible the improved functioning of Pasiego family farms. These remained as the basis of the economic and social system, which explains why another feature of the development of wage labour is its character of family business.

Plates 6 and 7 show the female and male images from the Mountains of Santander as graphically described in a series of types from all the regions in late 18th century. A Pasiego man and woman have been chosen to represent the

164 Impressions of Spain in 1866, by Lady Herbert, London, Michael Bentley, 1867, p. 27.

165 Diario de Avisos, June, 22, 1804.

regional type. She says: "they give more somewhere else". And he says: "While she nurses, I sell". Pasiego people were in fact seen as organizing their lives and occupations in surprisingly straight economic terms: she lives her land because she is paid more in other place. It is an obvious reference to Pasiego women's migration to work as wet nurses, reinforced by the 'husband's declaration. The fact that the economic motivations for her decision are represented here as noticeable and the feature more characteristic of Pasiego women suggest that this was not a normal behaviour for other peasants in Spain.

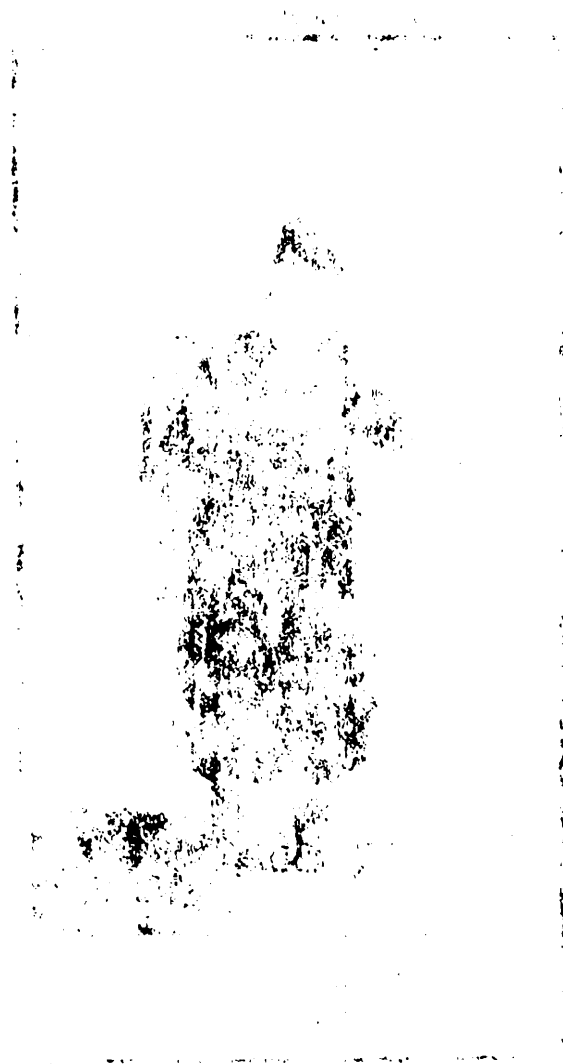
She is represented with the carrying basket at her back, with her baby in it, a custom that was found most picturesque by travellers. He is represented with the objects of his trade, a roll of muslin and a meter. The Pasiego family is then seen as highly mobile, with no references to agriculture or even stock raising, and highly rational in economic terms.



Mientras ella vive yo vendo.
Pasiego.



¿Mas me dan en otra parte.
Pasiega.



2. Almagro

According to the Cadaster, in 1752 there were a total of 1.883 householders in Almagro, excluding the main proprietor of land and sheep, the count of Valparaíso, who was a permanent resident in Madrid.

Table II. 4. shows the structure of the group of householders, by sex and marital status. Of them, 1. 511 (80,3%) were male and 372 (19,7%) were women. Whilst the Cadaster identifies all male householders with an occupation (or with a "without occupation" status), only 14 % of female householders were identified with an occupation.

Table II. 4. Almagro householders' status according to the Cadaster

	Total	%	occupation	%
Women	372		53	14,2
married	2	0,5	0	0
unmarried	59	15,9	20	33,9
widows	311	83,6	33	10,6
Men	1. 511		1. 511	100
married	1. 391	92,1	1. 391	100
unmarried	37	2,4	37	100
widowers	83	5,5	83	100

The Cadaster's failure to record women's activities means that alternative sources must be used in order to describe Almagro's occupational structure. The structure of male occupation, as recorded by the Cadaster, will be analyzed first. Then, alternative sources to describe the structure of female occupations will be suggested.

The Cadaster identifies the following groups of male occupations:

agricultural jobs: 6 (excluding sons): gardeners (*hortelanos*), farmers,

(*labradores mayores*), farmers working their own property, helpers and farmer boys (*ayudadores* and *zagales de labor*), renters or caretakers of country houses (*caseros de casas de campo*) and day labourers.

livestock jobs: 12 (excluding sons): head shepherds (*mayorales de ganados*), their assistants (*ayudadores de ganado*), *escohoteros*, *rabadanes* (head shepherds but under the orders of the mayoral), administrators, shepherd boys (*zagales*), *sobrados*, shepherds of their own cattle, *destetadores de muletos*, their assistants, *garañoneros*, their assistants.

manufacturers: 38 (excluding apprentices).

services: 22 (shop-keepers, ambulant sellers, dealers, muleteers (*arrieros*), cartwrights, tavern-keeper, rangers, hunters, water-carriers, barbers, *saquileros*, domestic servants, nuns' messengers (*mandaderos de monjas*), inn-keeper, letter carrier, *truquero*, coachers, meat sellers, clerks, *guarda dehesa*, sacristans, sheepshearers.

35 of these 65 activities are described according to the traditional guild structure: master, official and apprentice. Since information was collected for fiscal purposes, individuals were identified as either one, and a different income was attributed to each of them depending on their place in the guild's hierarchy.

The fact that the worker's position within the traditional guild structure represented no longer his social status (the market, not the guild status, accounting now for the amount of the worker's income), made it necessary to find an alternative method to identify the **worker's position as income**. This is why in some cases the worker is identified as a master, but considered as an official "for the little selling".

As for the occupations not described as following the guild hierarchy, they correspond to activities regarded as low level, like cobblers, as opposed to shoemakers.

Other activities were not included in the Questionnaire but can be traced in the personal declarations or Memoriales. This is the case of domestic servants, unemployed, "with no occupation", as noble men described themselves, and handicapped and retired workers.

Table II. 5. shows the occupational structure of male householders

according to the data provided by the Catastro.

Table II. 5. Almagro, 1752. Occupational structure of male householders

	Householders	(%)
Agriculture		
farmers	167	11,0
ganaderos	8	0,5
hortelanos	41	2,7
Services		
servants	196	13,0
artisans +services	325	21,5
officials (clerks)	69	4,6
trade	92	6,1
Manufactures		
crafts		
Irregular		
day labourers	502	33,2
no occupation	102	6,7
unemployed	10	0,1
Total	1. 512	100

If instead of listing workers by the task they performed, we group them in relation to the type of labour relation under which they worked, three groups of workers emerge:

1. **self-employed**, including farmers, cattle breeders and gardeners, who worked on their own lands, or with their own cattle; artisans and manufacturers running their own businesses, as well as workers of "services".

2. **wage workers**, including servants, local officials, and day labourers.

3. **non-occupied**, -i. e., living on resources other than their work. These are proprietors living on their rents, as well as crippled, retired and unemployed workers living on their family's resources or from charity.

1. **Self-employed workers** included farmers, cattle breeders and hortelanos, who worked on their own lands, or with their own cattle; artisans and manufacturers running their own businesses, as well as "services" workers.

Manufacture (domestic) workers

Artisan work developed to meet the demand for goods of consumption

occupations were in decline. This traditional structure was a three-level hierarchy, composed of masters, journeymen (*oficiales*) and apprentices.

As the object of the Interrogatorio was to establish the personal, contribution, the guild system was used more to express different levels of income than real guild structures.

Table II. 6. Almagro. Structure of guilds occupations and their wages

	Masters	Journeymen	Apprentices
baker	33	?	?
barber	16	4	4
shoemaker	14	17	7
mason	13	6	0
tailor	12	20	5
esparto grass maker	12	?	?
wheelwright	11	4	2
Veterinarian, farrier	8	7	5
blacksmith	8	2	1
lime maker	8	0	0
carpenter	7	7	5
zeazero	7	0	0
barber (+ bloodletter)	7	0	0
whitebread maker	6	?	?
potter	6	0	0
candle maker	5	1	1
boilermaker	5	1	1
chocolate maker	4	4	?
pyrotechnicist	4	3	0
butcher	4	2	0
plastercast maker	4	0	0
hat maker	4	1	0
wheel maker	4	1	0
stone cutter	3	0	0
skins preparer (zurrador)	3	1	0
boot maker	2	0	1
cord maker	3	0	1
flour miller	3	1	0
locksmith	2	2	0
tanner	1	2	0
gunsmith	1	1	0
pastry cook	1	0	1
sculptor	1	2	0
painter, gold plater	1	0	0
silversmith	1	1	1
tinsmith	2	0	0
packsaddle maker	0	2	0
Total	241	97	35

Most of these workers developed their activity on a family basis. Often, officials and apprentices were relatives of the masters (their sons or younger brothers), working more as domestic servants while learning a trade. Most apprentices were not paid. The catastro specifically says so in the case of the chocolate maker and the candle maker.

There were 12 other activities, outside the guild system, occupying 86 men more, among which 22 cobblers, 7 rangers (guardas), 36 hortelanos, 7 water carriers, 4 sheepshearers, 3 hunters, 1 tavern keeper.

Men occupied in textile production numbered 20, of them 5 cloth weavers (3 masters and 2 officials), 3 linen weavers (2 masters and one official), 2 cloth millers, and 10 carders (eight masters and two officials). The Catastro suggests an activity in decline, highly seasonal, developed during some months after the cut of the wool and when water was available.

Table II. 7. Textile industries in the Almagro area, 1752

	Wool weavers	Linen w.rs	Spinn.	Carders	Shearers	Dyers
Granátula	4	-	-	2	-	-
Pozuelo	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bolaños	-	-	-	1	-	-
Carrión	2	-	-	-	-	-
Torralba	2	-	-	6	-	-
Calzada	3	-	4	9	-	-
Daimiel	6	1	5	16	1	1
Puertollano	1	-	-	3	-	-
Almodóvar	1	-	-	-	-	-
Almagro	5	3	2	10	-	-
Total	25	4	11	47	1	1

Seasonality was a common feature of textile manufactures throughout the region. In Carrión de Calatrava, the wool weaver and his apprentice had "very little work at their trade"; in Daimiel there were 16 carders, but their daily

earnings were estimated as only 5 reales,

considering that at maximum they work in this occupation three months a year, which are the ones subsequent to the cut of the wool, because they are all officials that came to the houses which call them and for the expenditure of these houses, according to their abilities each of them does what he can, these Carders being occupied the rest of the year in fieldwork (...) and for the same reason, the wool weavers, who are six, the fullers, who are five, and cloth shearers, who is just one, work only in the mentioned jobs half the year.

The seasonal character of other industrial activities was also stressed: in Carrión "there are fifteen householders who occupy themselves some seasons in baking bread for the Village and for outside"; in Daimiel there were "five or six" Turrón Makers, who made *turrón* (nougat) "of honey and pinion in the classic days and holidays in summer, that in all are considered two months, and in each day five reales of utility, earning more in the respective occupations they have".

166

Also in Daimiel there were two wax makers, that "only work four months a year in their job", 3 tan makers that "only work six months a year", three pyrotechnists, "father and two sons, that only for the summer time use this occupation, so five months of occupation are considered", 2 cord makers that "work very little at this occupation and they do at their [other] work, so a real and a half is considered of utility by reason of it"; etc.

Part of this seasonality derived for the annual cycle of agriculture and cattle which many industrial activities depended upon: in Villamayor the butcher worked only four months a year in this occupation, "the four months that are used to weigh meat in this village", in Daimiel the workers of the oil mills and their assistants, "considering the uncertainty and short crop of this fruit", are taxed two and a half reales "for each of the days in which they occupy themselves in this work, and they would make three Months each year". 167

166 AHMCR, Hacienda, legajo 686, question 33a.

167 AHMCR, Hacienda, legajo 599, question 33a.

2. Wage-workers.

Wage workers are here defined as the individuals who defined themselves as working for a master, either lay or ecclesiastical, on a regular basis.

The main differentiation among them derived from the fact that some were hired on a annual basis, or worked for long years, while others, like day labourers, worked only for some months or even weeks each year. In fact, in the answer to Question 36, the Cadaster officials mentioned the existence of 400 poor, who were then classified as *jornaleros*.

Table II. 8. Almagro. Wage workers

	male	female
agriculture	124	--
day labourers	502	--
shepherds	219	--
services		
domestic	48	229
laundresses	--	14
apprentices	35	---
clerks	69	---
others	26	---
TOTAL	1.023	243

Men working for a wage, in money or in kind, numbered 1.023 in Almagro. This figure includes many non householders, but 49 % of the male householders were wage workers. Services includes all workers in services, from milliners to accountants, whenever they are employed by an employee during the year.

An important source of male employment was trade. As was seen in chapter I, a growing specialization of trade resulted in the increasing number of men working as muleteers and travelling to Madrid and Andalusian cities. Carriers and muleteers from the Campo de Calatrava carried to Madrid local agricultural products (wheat flour, wine, olive oil, wool, meat, some charcoal), and manufactures (leather, wool clothes, lace). They also carried products of

other regions, such as Andalucia.

Although trade was the official occupation of only a few householders in Almagro, many others joined them in periods of high demand.¹⁶⁸

Transportation was made with mules, whose quality became renowned in Spain. These Manchego arrieros, or muleteers, protagonists of many Cervantes' novels, sold wine, aguardiente and textile manufactures on the streets of urban centers such as Madrid. Their presence became so common there that so identified were they with their place of origin that they were known as manchegos. Plate 8 shows one of these muleteers as the characteristic type from La Mancha. He is defined as a cavañal, that is, as a worker in a cavaña or recua de mulas. His worker character, as opposed to the wealthy trader from La Mancha seen in chapter I (plate 1), is reflected by his shoes, simple leather *abarcas*, his blouse without metal buttons and his short, unfancy pants. He refers to his trade in his said: "You want me to bring you that?".

Trade was also an important activity in other towns of the region: in Carrión "there are six arrieros who occupy themselves in bringing wine to Madrid and Toledo, the four have for this traffic three donkeys in Carrión de Calatrava there were six muleeters who "occupy themselves in taking wine to Madrid and Toledo, four have for this traffic three donkeys each, and the other two have two donkeys each" ¹⁶⁹.

Yet most of the male wage workers of Almagro were employed in the flocks of sheep that constituted the main source of wealth of the great proprietors.

The count of Valparaíso declared to own 11.365 trashumant sheep, organized in 14 flocks of over 800 head each. Four men worked in each of these

¹⁶⁸ In 1766, when scarcity of wheat in Madrid led to a massive import of American wheat through the port of Cádiz, the town complained on "the absolute non-existence of herds, or Drivers, being all occupied for the delivery of overseas wheat that was being taken to Madrid" AHN, Consejos, legajo 510. 10% of all the wheat consumed in Madrid in 1779 was from Andalucia. Ringrose, Madrid and the Spanish economy, p. 203.

¹⁶⁹ AHCR, Hacienda, leg. 673.

De la Marche



Que le troupe auuello?
Cavaliere



flocks: rabadán, compañero, ayudador and zagal. 170 The total number of sheperds and other workers employed by the count amounted to 164, all of them male, plus the goat workers.

For Llopis, "one of the keys of Castilian trashumant enterprises lay in the abundance of men, particularly in the towns of the Mountains, which were ready to take care of the herds for a small recompense". 171

Interestingly, mention of this pattern of family income are frequent: wives and children working as weavers and spinners, with husbands and perhaps grown up children as well, migrating as shepherds. In Brieva (La Rioja),

"Given the hardness of the land, that produces scarce crops (...) its householders are almost all of them Shepherds, who go every year to the province of Extremadura, 80 and 100 leguas away from their town, taking care of the herds, with a wage of 27 ducados maximum, and in the said province they remain nine months. Their wives occupy themselves in carding and spinning wool, and working every day until ten and eleven at night they make 10 quartos each day" 172.

This pattern of family occupation must have been common, for there are references to it in other regions.

"When the flocks start their way towards the mountains, the Shepherds don't notice the distance, because of the pleasure they have of putting the fruit of their labours in the hands of their masters, and the wish of arriving in their countries to rest and see their families. These pleasures are still mixed with displeasures, for the continuous events that happen to them on the way, since everywhere they see themselves threatened if they dont give what they are asked -whether the flocks leave the official path or not. And only the disgrace of having been born in a poor country makes them undertake the dangers of trashumance as the only way of subsistence for them and their family, although the family has to help itself with spinning, since otherwise it could not maintain itself with two hundred and twenty reales of salary, and the perk of a mare, six sheep, and four goats" 173.

170 The structure of the flocks of the Monastery of El Paular, in Segovia, was slightly different: flocks of something more of 1.000 heads, each of them carried by a group of 5 or 6 sheperds. E. Llopis, "Medio siglo de una gran explotación trashumante: la cabaña merina del Monasterio de El Paular, 1680-1730", p.31.

171 E. Llopis, "La cabaña trashumante del Monasterio de Guadalupe: historia, funcionamiento y resultados", p.11.

172 Tomás López, Diccionario geográfico, in García Martín, La ganadería mesteña en la España borbónica (1700-1836), ob. cit., p. 232-233.

173 Vida pastoril, por Don Manuel del Río, vecino de Carrascosa, provincia de Soria. Ganadero trashumante, y Hermano del Honrado Concejo de la Mesta [183], p. 152.

The coexistence of sheep herding and local wool manufactures developed naturally, since even if most of the wool belonged to big proprietors who exported it to Europe, shepherds always kept some animals from whose wool their families would benefit, either for family consumption or for sale.

This complementarity has been interpreted as a "main activity" performed by the husband-father and "complementary activities" performed by the rest of the members of the family, without a serious attempt to quantify the percentage of family income that could have originated in the different activities. ¹⁷⁴

Jornaleros and underemployment.

Day labourers accounted for 33,2 % of all male householders, being the largest occupational group of Almagro's male work population. However, it has already been seen how the term *jornaleros* functioned more as a translation into work categories of the status of "poor", rather than in inference to an actual working status. This was so because of the strongly seasonal demand for day labourers, only employed for some agricultural tasks: harvest and collection of olive and grapes. In practice, this meant wage opportunities for only some weeks a year, if any.

The existence of a pool of workers highly dependant on seasonal wages, that is, with insufficient or no access to the land, was regarded by landowners as very convenient. In 1780 a noble entrepreneur presented to the City Council of Almagro a proposal to plant olive and fruit trees in an unplowed communal *dehesa*, arguing that these new crops, and the proposed conversion of dry into irrigated land, would create new employment opportunities for the many jornaleros who recently, "not finding work were very close to hunger" ¹⁷⁵. After

¹⁷⁴ "In the absence of the shepherds, families that remained in their original homes practiced activities complementary to the basic sustent gained by their heads, like cultivation of the land if the soil allowed it, maintenance of some animals and activities of artisan transformation, within an autarquic economy", García Martín, ob. cit., p.232, my italics.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Díaz Pintado, "Los problemas agrarios de Almagro en el siglo XVIII", p. 66.

deliberation, the Council denied permission for the project, arguing that if the marquis gave employment to day labourers, "local landowners would not find anyone to work for them, without doubling the cost, and even more in years of good harvests, and in this town, where these people are not very abundant, there being many houses that have to use foreigners at peak seasons and much more at harvest" 176.

What this evidence proves, besides the functionality that the existence of day labourers had for big landowners, is the existence of this group as a structural feature of the work organization of Almagro, and the fact that they were effectively occupied only a few weeks a year.

The situation was not exclusive to Almagro. In Puertollano there were 256 jornaleros, "and they are idle in this village most part of the year for there is no one to occupy them"; in Villamayor the 72 jornaleros "do not work most of the year for there is no one to occupy them" 177.

To these day labourers we must add a large part of other self-employed workers who, for different reasons, worked on their activities only for some months of the year.

What did these unemployed day labourers do during the year?

One possible answer to this question could have been outmigration, either temporary, seasonal, or permanent. We have seen the important role that outmigration played in Pas.

Yet temporary migration seems to have been of very little importance in Almagro. Table II. 9. shows the absents of Almagro, according to Ensenada, in 1753:

176 Díaz Pintado, *Ibidem*, p. 69.

177 AHPCR, Hacienda, leg. 731.

Table II. 9. Almagro. Absents in 1752.

name	relation to head	age	occupation	place
	husband		day labourer	
Juan de Huertas	husband	42	soldier	?
? Osorio y Mesía	son	21	official	Barcelona
id	son	18	Law student	Granada
Alberto Galiano	head		picador de tafetán	Madrid
? Ruiz de Agillón	son	22	soldier	?
	son of W	19	amanuensis	Madrid
? de Molina	son	24	soldier	Africa
López	son	16		Zaragoza
Don Francisco Meléndez	head	45	preceptor	?
?	son of W	31	secretary of Duke	Madrid
?	son of W	24	servant of Marquis	Madrid
? de Espinosa	son	20	carpenter	Madrid
Don Pedro del Esquina	head V		regidor perpetuo	
	son of W	17	barber (journeyman)	Madrid
	son of W	23	mason	Madrid
de Ortega	son	19	soldier	?
de Ortega	son	18	soldier	?
? Martín Sáez	son	17	picador de tafetán	Madrid
?	stepson	35	soldier	?
? Martín	son	18	shoemaker (apprent.)	Madrid
Casimiro ? Laguna	son of W	13	shoemaker (apprent.)	Madrid
Diego Martínez	son of W	25	barber (journeyman)	Madrid
Manuel Mohíno	head	58	hortelano	C. Real

According to the Catastro, out migration was an infrequent experience for Almagro men and almost unknown for Almagro women. Furthermore, not all individuals recorded as absents in the Catastro migrated in order to make a living. Rather, the social complexity and differentiation of Almagro suggests that the reasons of temporary absences of its inhabitants must have varied: members of well to do families could be temporarily out of town, visiting the Court, or studying if young men. Some of them were permanent residents of the Court, like the count of Valparaíso.

What seems to be more indicative of a migratory pattern is the fact that all

absents were men, most of them unmarried. ¹⁷⁸ Of the five married men absent, only two appear to be so for working reasons (the two Dons were proprietors, and the possibility that they were absent for work-related reasons can be discarded, while the fifth was a soldier). The rest are unmarried youngsters, some of which are sons of proprietors, and are studying. Nine are artisans, all of which were working in Madrid.

Migration appears related to age (that is, as a stage in men's life-cycle) and to intra-family situations (half of the unmarried men are sons of widowers). In addition, it draws more upon strategies of inter-generational mobility than ways of making a living or of supporting the families.

In conclusion, out-migration does not seem to have functioned as a widespread mechanism for compensating for the lack of occupation at home, not even for men.

Some underrecording of migrants may have occurred, particularly of seasonal migrants. For instance, there is evidence of men from Almagro and other towns of the Campo de Calatrava working in nearby Almadén mines. According to Dobado, among the licenses issued to non-residents in Almadén to work as miners (which include the workers' town of origin), from 1745 to 1780 an average of 6 to 20 men from Almagro were working at the mines. Men from other villages of Campo de Calatrava, such as Moral, Granátula, Caracuel, Villamayor, Puertollano, Aldea del rey, or Bolaños, appear as well in the records. ¹⁷⁹ Work in the Almadén mines was seasonal, and the fact that no men were described as a miner in the Memoriales for the Catastro probably means that it was in fact regarded as a highly seasonal and temporary occupation for those few engaged in it.

Yet this very low number of miners is surprising, considering the proximity of the mines and the fact that, although offering very hard working conditions, the salaries were much higher than for other activities, to the point

¹⁷⁸ The only woman, María Valero Paraíso, a widower, was living in the near village of Bolaños with her son, a parish priest.

¹⁷⁹ Dobado, "Salarios y condiciones de trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1758-1839", p. 405 and fol., and maps.

of attracting workers from all nearby provinces and Portugal.

3. The third group of people, the **non-occupied** population, includes proprietors living on their rents, as well as handicapped, retired, and unemployed workers. Table II. 10. shows the men who defined themselves as unemployed to the cadaster makers. All of them were householders, except in one case, when the father defined his 15 year old son as such.

Table II. 10. Almagro. Workers self-defined as unemployed in 1752

name	age	former occupation
Matías Romero	55	shepherd
Juan Donoso		shepherd
Francisco Garrido		assistant shepherd
Francisco Romero		shepherd
Pedro Navarro Molero	60	shepherd
Sebastián Sarzo		day labourer
son of Matías Ynchi	15	shepherd
Pedro Téllez		shepherd
Bernardo Bernardez		shepherd (mayoral)
Julio Téllez		ganadero de lanar

All workers defining themselves as unemployed belonged to livestock activities, a fact probably explained by cattle being the only wage occupation that was a permanent occupation. Waged workers employed in agriculture were occupied for some months of the year, and hence did not regard themselves as unemployed. Some of these non-occupied people lived on charity. Some of them would perform subsistence activities, like carrying wood from the communal lands, or hunting.

Many questions remain without an answer after this analysis. Probably the most important pertains to what kind of resources unemployed and day labourers lived on. If we add the unemployed, non-occupied and day labourers, we are speaking of about 40,6% of all male householders.

If we consider the high rate of seasonal unemployment, the high number of heads of households either unemployed or only seasonally employed, the question then remains of why there was not a flow of outmigration to complement local sources of regular income.

I argue that it was the work of other members of the households, women, and children, which rendered such outmigration unnecessary. The widespread existence of a lace domestic industry in which an important number of women was involved is the key to the puzzle.

An alternative vision of production and labour organization in Almagro in mid-18th century.

Different theories have attempted to provide an explanation for these long periods of unemployment, common in most areas of rural Europe. Proto industrialization theory has linked the highly seasonal character of most agricultural activities with rural industry. Rural activities would have developed as a complement to them and as a means to avoid the long periods of unemployment. ¹⁸⁰

In mid-18th century Almagro there was a significant rate of male unemployment and underemployment, not compensated for by a pattern of outmigration, and which existed together with a modest but sustained population growth. I will argue that this situation can be explained by looking at a part of the economic life not recorded in the Catastro.

In mid-18th century Almagro was an important manufacturing center, lace being the main manufacture. Almagro's lace industry was very dynamic: it developed from a domestic stage to a factory stage employing thousands of

¹⁸⁰ Although there is no evidence of workers from Almagro working there, in Almadén, near Almagro and one of the most important mining centers of Spain, mining provided workers with a seasonal occupation. A letter from the administrator of the Almadén mines in 1642 instructed on the works of maintenance and repairs that must be done in the mines so that "when finished with their crops, the labradores enter fresh to start each of them in the work that were accustomed to do". Matilla Tascón, *ob.cit.*, doc. LIV, p.472.

people in a large area around the town, and eventually becoming one of the main centers of lace production in Spain. But it employed only women (although providing employment for many men as transporters as well). As a result, Almagro's lace industrial activity hardly appears in the records, and has been largely ignored.

In the following pages I analyze Almagro's lace industry and its work structure, and to what extent it could account for the apparently contradictory situation described above.

Lace industry in Campo de Calatrava

In the famous Diccionario geográfico published by Madoz in 1851, the voice 'Almagro' devotes a large part of the text to the lace factory of the Torres family. In describing the origin of the factory, Madoz accepted the owner's version, according to which his father had arrived in Almagro, initiated and taught the lace technique, heroically overcoming endless obstacles, among which was the women's refusal to learn the technique.

Contrary to the version provided by Madoz, evidence shows that lace production was widespread in the region before the 19th century. At the end of the 18th century, Almagro was one of the main centers of lace production in Spain, together with La Coruña and Gerona.¹⁸¹

The origin of the lace tradition in the Almagro area, in the middle of the Castilian plains, lies with the Flemish women who arrived with their families during the 16th century (following the concession of privileges of the nearby mines of Almadén to the Flemish bankers Fugger by Charles V), and taught

¹⁸¹ According to calculations made by a Commission appointed in 1840 to examine the conditions of the Catalan cotton industry, there were "more than 30.000 women and girls occupied in lace making in the coastal areas of those four provinces and villages entering six and eight leguas into the interior, where there are poor fishing villages that would be reduced to mendicity if the wives and daughters [of fishermen] would lack that work". Revista económica de Madrid, May 1, 1842, p. 226. On lace industry in Spain, Sarasúa, "La industria del encaje en el Campo de Calatrava", Arenal 4, 1995.

Almagro women this technique.¹⁸² Lace was widespread as a domestic manufacture in the area around Almagro during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, which explains the successive attempts in the 18th and 19th centuries to establish a lace factory there.

In 1796 a lawyer addressed on behalf of six lace dealers from Almagro a complaint to the Consejo de Castilla for the recent restrictions to itinerant trade:

lace makers are losing this attachment to this work which through lack of buyers is becoming impoverished every day , and also the capital with which my parts used to do this traffic are being consumed little by little , and some are already entirely consumed, and so some bankrupts have occurred (...) there is no other solution than allowing the lace merchants of Almagro to trade throughout the Kingdom and the selling of lace around the villages as before¹⁸³

This petition was responded to by the Council of Castile with a Real Provisión signed by Campomanes on 27 May 1796 by which the Council permitted Almagro lace traders to "go out to sell the laces and articles of the same type to the villages of the Kingdom, bringing a Guide or Passport with them"¹⁸⁴.

That same year Félix Torres, Catalan, established a lace 'factory' in Almagro. In order to reconstruct the structure of lace production in the 18th century, I have compared the list provided by Madoz of 25 villages where in mid-19th century there were lace makers working for Almagro's factory, with data from Ensenada's Catastro, one century before. Since the Cadaster failed to record women's occupations, mention of lace makers is nonexistent. An alternative way of tracing their existence and calculating their number consists of a two-stages method:

¹⁸² Cervantes mentioned it in Don Quijote. Being Sancho Panza king of the Barataria island, receives a letter from his wife informing him that their daughter "Sanchica hace puntas de randas; gana día ocho maravedís horros, que los va echando en una alcancía para ayuda de su ajuar". El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, ed. Castalia, vol.II, p.439.

¹⁸³ Asensio Rubio, "Los encajes de 1796", Mirador, 1, 1985.

¹⁸⁴ Asensio Rubio, Ibidem.

a. analyzing *lace trade* (which was performed by men, and hence, recorded) as an indirect means to arrive to lace making, and

b. using the Memoriales or declarations issued by each householder instead of the Respuestas particulares. In the Memoriales it is possible to find, (a) answers of widows and unmarried women who were householders and sometimes mention lace making as their own activity or that of their female relatives, and (b) in some cases, references to lace making as the activity performed by female relatives of householders.

In this way, the Cadaster has proved useful as a source for reconstructing not only the domestic stage of lace production in the area, but the structure of female activity in mid-18th century.

Lace trade as an indirect way to reconstruct female lace manufacture

In the questionnaire of Almagro 30 men appeared classified as lace dealers, in some cases also with other textiles. ¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Textiles mentioned are flax, silks, "linens from Galicia", stockings and different types of wool clothes such as *paños*, *albornozes*, *Gerga* and *Baietas*.

Table II. 11. Almagro. Lace dealers in 1753

name	age	commodity	income (ducados/year)	horses
Joachín Martínez		lace		1
Ambrosio Medel		lace, wool		-
Juan Francisco de Huertas	25	lace shop	60	1
Felipe Patón	41	lace	60	-
Antonio Pérez	52	lace	60	-
Juan Hidalgo	37	<i>albornoz</i> , lace		-
Juan Bacete	26	lace		4
Matías Gómez Moreno		lace and others		1
Diego Martín		lace	70	1donkey
son of Manuela Verdejo	34			1
Francisco Belmonte		leather, lace		1
Joseph Gómez Moreno	34	linen, lace		-
Joseph Serrano	36	lace		1
Manuel de Zúñiga	42	linen, lace		--
Manuel Rincón	49	lace		1d
Andrés de Acuña	32	linen, lace		1
Gaspar Moreno	57	lace		1d
hijo de Ysabel Espinosa	25			--
Julio Serrano	35	lace		1
Joseph Fernández Calvillo		lace, <i>albornoz</i>		1
Melchor Gómez	32	lace		1d
Simón Ruiz	36	lace	90	1
Antonio Morales	25	lace	70	1
Juan Francisco Vargas	40	wool clothes, lace		1
Alejandro de la Rosa	66	lace	50	--
Antonio Serrano Medel	45	lace	60	--
Antonio Fernández	24	lace	100	--
Francisco Galán	60	lace	60	--
Joseph Mollor	32			--
Pedro Galán	29	lace	90	--

Lace trade involved at least 30 men, providing them with annual incomes ranging from 50 to 100 ducados. Compared with other commodities, lace developed as a very specialized trade: the near 17 traders who defined themselves as "encajeros", that is, dealing only with lace, were the only ones to deal with a single commodity. Other commodities traded from Almagro were always textiles, also goods from domestic production (wool and flax, leather).

The structure of the lace trade was complex. Only a few lace dealers controlled the trade, dealing on the one hand with the producers, and on the other hand with a number of ambulant traders working for them. These were in most cases relatives, who were in fact mere carriers, having no capital invested in the trade, so working themselves as waged workers.

Some of these declared that they were not the owners of the lace they sold, like Joseph Serrano, whose occupation is "going out of this town to sell the lace of the people who gives it to me fiados a vuelta de viaje", Antonio Morales, who defines himself as "tratante a crédito", Felipe Patón, 41, "mi exercizio es buscar la vida con unos encaxes q.e me dan a crédito", or the son of Ysabel de Espinosa, who occupies himself "in selling lace of Juan Serrano Medel". Or Antonio Serrano Medel, who identified himself as a lace dealer "when Ambrosio Medel y Juan Serrano Medel and other lace dealers of this town give lace to me to sell it, for I have no capital to buy them and sell them myself".

Ambrosio Medel and Juan Serrano Medel, probably uncle and nephew, were two of the main lace traders of Almagro. The first declared himself as "merchant in wool goods", and happens to be one of the main land proprietors of Almagro.

Other lace traders indicated that they collected lace in towns other than Almagro, like Diego Martín, who went "to sell lace collected throughout the places."

Lace dealing was not exclusive to Almagro. In Villamayor there was

a *randero* who deals in buying lace in this region and taking it to sell to Seville and other places, where he takes in count of them, or with the money they produce to him, some clothes, thread, sugar, and flax, depending on what he thinks will be more profitable on each trip, and he sells it in this town and places around giving most of it to those who make the lace ¹⁸⁶.

The towns near Almagro developed a trade structure similar to Almagro's, but on a smaller scale: in Calzada de Calatrava there were nine

¹⁸⁶ AHPCR, Hacienda, legajo 599, Interrogatorio de Villamayor, folio sin numerar.

dealers, of which one in leather, one in flax, one in wool textiles, three in goats' skins and three lace dealers; in Puertollano there were eleven dealers: four in various goods (cattle as well as clothes, etc.), one in linen, two in spices (of which one was at the same time herrero), and four in clothes and lace (of which two in lace alone). They were making annual incomes of between 3. 500 and 200 reales, the mean income for lace dealers being 750 reales.

In Almodóvar del Campo there were 12 dealers: one in linens, one in wax, two in leather, four shop-keepers (of spices) and four in "wool clothes, linen and lace", each of whom had annual incomes of 800 reales; in Argamasilla de Alba there was only one dealer "in linen and laces" called Pedro Romero, who owned also a store "with some *quincalla* (hardware), ribbons and some other minute things". His yearly earnings were of 200 ducados.

In Mestanza there was a store "with a short provision of paper, rice, raisins, sugar and some other minute things", and one dealer, Juan Sáenz, who "deals in buying laces in this land, then he takes them to sell, or exchange them for some linen, yarn, and Bayetas that he gives to the lace makers". He declared annual earnings of 900 reales. Given his specialization in lace, he was called "randero", instead of "tratante", or dealer; in Corral de Calatrava there was "a shop-keeper of spices, some lace and he also sells the salt", who earned annually 700 reales.

The structure of Almagro trade was consistent with the main economic activities described in the last chapter: activities related to cattle (preparation and selling of cattle skins), and textile activities (manufacture of wool, linen and lace). Only lace appears at one and the same time an unknown and the most important activity.

Table II. 12. shows the total number of lace dealers in Campo de Calatrava according to the Catastro. Although their existence is evidence of local lace activity, its extent is not necessarily the same in the seven villages.

Table II. 12. Almagro. Lace dealers in 1752 and lace workers in 1850

	Lace workers 1850	Lace dealers 1752
Dependencies of Almagro:		
Almagro.....	2.262	30
Granátula.....	623	—
Pozuelo.....	566	—
Aldea del Rey.....	192	—
Bolaños.....	184	—
Valenzuela.....	314	—
Carrión.....	184	—
Pardillo.....	52	—
Torralva.....	901	—
Calzada.....	126	3
Daimiel.....	99	—
Total	5.503	33
Dependencies of Puertollano:		
Puertollano.....	614	4
Argamasilla.....	164	1
Almodóvar del Campo.....	41	4
Villamayor.....	114	1
Mestanza.....	50	1
Hinojosa y Cabezas Rubias.....	.234	—
Villar.....	.18	—
Total.....	1.235	11
Dependencies of El Corral:		
Corral de Calatrava.....	255	1
Cañada.....	81	—
Caracuel.....	42	—
Ballesteros.....	191	—
Moral y Retamal.....	731	—
Total	1.300	1
TOTAL	8.038	45

From the importance of the lace trade in the region we can deduce not only the obvious existence of a lace industry, but also the fact that this was strictly organized along gender lines. Commercialization was in the hands of men (called randeros after randa, the local word for lace), while the actual production

of lace was women's work.

Lace dealers provided lace makers with raw materials (the cotton or silk thread) and bought all their work, probably by order. This position gave them a total control over the production process.¹⁸⁷ Some evidence suggests that lace makers were preferently paid in kind, with pieces of wool, clothes and thread. Sebastián Velasco, the lace dealer of Villamayor de Calatrava, sold lace "in Seville and other parts", where he bought "some clothes, thread, sugar, and linen, depending on what he considers more convenient on each trip and he sells it in this said village or the nearby, giving most of it to the same ones that make the lace".

In Mestanza lace makers received "some linen, thread, and wool fabrics" from Juan Sáenz, the local lace dealer.

This system was characteristic of other textile domestic industries. In mid-18th century, the 34 dealers in wool fabrics or *traginantes* (carriers) of Antequera (Málaga), an important wool center, transported with their own horses their wool fabrics.¹⁸⁸ What probably differentiated commercialization of lace is the characteristics of the product, much lighter than wool fabrics and with a higher value.

Yet this gender division of the lace industry did not exist in other European lace making areas, where "from the purchase of raw thread through the actual fabrication to the sale of the finished product of the wholesaler, the lace industry tended to be entirely in the hands of women --an unusual state of affairs in European handicrafts. Lace was the costliest textile commodity in Europe (...) The value lay entirely in the handiwork, with many years required to

¹⁸⁷ Jovellanos had a very negative vision of the impact of dealers on manufacturing: "En Sevilla el traficante trabaja de ordinario de cuenta del mercader o negociante por falta de fondos; por consecuencia, queda reducido a la clase de jornalero, no disfruta las franquicias concedidas a él y a su fábrica, y contra la intención del Gobierno que las concede, se refunde toda la utilidad en el negociante, que es quien vende de primera mano. ¿Quién duda que la industria no puede prosperar mientras estos fabricantes no tengan más fomento?. Un monte pío les daría cuanto necesitasen." Carta a Campomanes "remitiendo el proyecto de erarios públicos", agosto 1777, *Obras*, BAE, II, p.141.

¹⁸⁸ "using the said mules and horses which we own, we transport the clothes we have made to sell in the towns of the region." Parejo, *Industria dispersa e industrialización en Andalucía*, p. 244.

learn the skill. Yet the remuneration was at the lowest level of female wages: in France a day's labour might provide a couple of pounds of bread. In lace areas tens of thousands of women were involved in production" 189.

Memoriales as a source for female occupation

References to female labour in the Memoriales are of course non systematic. Since no question of the Interrogatorio was aimed at knowing about it, answers that mentioned female activities depended on a number of factors, such as the declarant, the acceptance of the catastro maker of the declarant's comments, etc. Table II. 13. shows the sectorial distribution of women's occupations in Almagro according to the Memoriales.

Table II. 13. Almagro, 1752. Female labour according to the Cadaster

	married	%	unmarried	%	widows	%	Total	%
Agric.								
agriculture	--		--		3		3	0,4
livestock	--		--		--		--	
Manufactures								
lace makers	16		261		19		296	45,0
other textiles	6		59		16		81	12,3
Services								
laundresses	2		6		6		14	2,1
domestic servants							229	34,8
others	--		9		12		21	3,2
housework			11		2		13	2,0
Total	24		346		58		657	99,8

Memoriales provide information on the occupation of a total of 657 women in Almagro.

The first noticeable feature is the total absence of women in the primary

189 Hufton, "Women, Work, and Family", p. 23.

sector, in agricultural and livestock activities. Only three women were mentioned as engaged in agricultural activities. They were probably proprietors (two labradoras and one hortelana). No one was mentioned in livestock activities.

Manufactures occupied 377 women, 57,3 % of all women described as occupied. These were textile manufacturers in all cases, but two main types appear clearly differentiated: on the one hand, lace makers, the clear majority of all women described as occupied. On the other hand, textile domestic manufacturers.

Lace makers have been here defined as all women who are mentioned as occupied in such an activity, even those mentioned as making other textiles as well. Two women described as both lace makers and laundresses have been classified as laundresses.

Classified as occupied in services are all female domestic servants (a large majority of women occupied in services), including one wet nurse and the cooks of the convents, except laundresses. Women living with clergymen have also been considered as servants: some of them were so, and were described as such by the householder and the catastro makers, but others were described more like wives and daughters (which they probably were). The fine line separating housewives from maid servants is here apparent.

Services included also laundresses and a miscellaneous group including a widow of 78, who "makes cakes and chocolate", 4 shopkeepers, all of them widows, a widowed tobacco *estanquera* or storekeeper (tobacco was a government monopoly good and its selling required a license), a tavern- or inn-keeper (*mesonera*), a widow who had a harness-shop and was a chair dealer at the same time (bringing the chairs from Vitoria, in Northern Spain) and two *santeras* or caretakers of the sanctuaries.

In the last place, there is an interesting reference to housework. A total of 11 householders referred to daughters or sisters working in family business such as bakeries.

Lace making

In order to make an estimate of the number of lace makers one has to solve the problem of married lace makers. As has been seen, wives very rarely appear as having an activity. All the evidence suggests that this has to be taken more as a decision of the census makers than as a description of reality. Besides taking care of housework, married women must have had to work for the market.

Some descriptions by the householders themselves explicitly deny this: in Almagro, Gabriel Galindo, agricultural worker, 45, his wife 44, has "four daughters the first one fourteen, the second one eleven, the third one nine, and the fourth one eight, all of them occupied in making stockings and in needlework with their mother. I have also a sister in law at my expense in my home, 60, who occupies herself in knitting." Nicolás de Villanueva, 51, agricultural servant working for a priest, his wife aged 40, had two sons aged 26 and 10, agricultural servants as well, and a daughter aged 20 "applied to needlework with her Mother."

This is even more evident in the case of lace making. The organization of lace making, whose technique was taught to girls at a very early age by mothers or grandmothers and done in small family groups, makes it difficult to believe that no married women worked as lace makers.

Cristóbal Canuto, 58, day labourer, his wife aged 42, had four sons, aged 20, 15, 8 and 4, "those who are able to work go to the fields and the minor ones to school, and the female (17) makes laces and her mother as well".

What these declarations suggest is that, when other lace makers are mentioned in the house, the wife or widowed mother should be recorded as lace maker herself.

Lace manufacture has often been regarded as a seasonal occupation, due to natural constraints (light was only sufficient in summer months) and to the

seasonality of the demand.¹⁹⁰ It does not seem to have been the case in Almagro, where light is sufficient almost throughout the year. Probably as a means of increasing control over the labour force, and, hence, over the production, and as a means of guaranteeing on-time delivery of production, some lace "factories" began to be established by foreign entrepreneurs at the end of the 18th century.

According to Larruga (1792), the first of these "factories" was opened in 1766. In Larruga's account the role played by the count of Valparaíso, in fostering and protecting the industrial initiatives in Almagro appears as an important one. The count lived in Madrid and held important positions near the king Carlos IV. His influence granted Almagro at least one of the main institutions of the local Administration, the Intendencia provincial. He must have been influenced by the reformist movement of Enlightened politicians like Campomanes, for whom rural industry was the key to economic and social development¹⁹¹. His relationship with the factory is not yet clear but it is likely that he obtained the royal protection and tax exemptions.

According to Madoz, it was established in 1796 by Juan Bautista Torres, who brought at his expenses, "for the direction and teaching of the women workers" his brother Felix, the wife of this, Serafina Albi, Juan, Francisco Sanroma and Salvador Riera, from Mataró. Félix Torres died in 1827 at 66. His sons Tomás and Andrés took over the direction. Madoz fails to mention the origin of the owners, except that they brought with them a certain "Salvador Riera, vecino de Mataró", one of the main centers of Catalan textile industry.

The first evidence of Almagro lace being sold in Madrid is from 1807, when an advertisement appeared at the Diario de Madrid: "A la tienda de la modista que vive calle de Jacometrezo (...) ha llegado un surtido de blondas de

190 Pardo Bazán gives some details of lace making in La Coruña, one of the other main centers of lace in Spain. One of the protagonists of La Tribuna (1882) is a young lace maker. Her work is described as endless when there is an order (p.44, 57, 170), but have none in winter: "It is better making cigarettes than lace. People always smoke, but lace in winter time...!"

191 The initiative of the factory contradicts the principle exposed by Campomanes in his Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular (1774), where he defended rural manufactures, seasonal industries coexisting with the family agricultural work, as an alternative to factory production, too costly.

todas clases de la fábrica de Almagro" (14 July, 1807).

Lace making was not limited to Almagro, there is evidence of it as a common activity for women in the region. According to the Relaciones of Tomás López, en Granátula "some women occupy themselves in making lace out of fine thread with which Almagro's merchants provide them."

Other textile manufactures

Textile activity other than lace making is difficult to describe due to the vagueness of the expressions used to refer to these activities in defining their occupation. Most women refer to a vague "labor de manos" or "the usual of women".

The Memoriales mention six different textile activities: *tejer ribetes* (knitting ribbons), *hacer media* (stocking weaving), *hacer telares* (literally "making looms", which probably means weaving), *costurera* (sewing), *teje albornoz* (cloth weaver) and *hila al torno* (spinning with the spinning wheel).

Some of these expressions are difficult to identify with exactitude today, but they all refer to different techniques of knitting, weaving and spinning.

More interesting is the extent to which these references can be taken as evidence of widespread textile domestic activity. It is unlikely that only one or two women would perform a certain type of textile activity in a town, given that in all cases they were manufactures for the market. Thus, they indicate at least a system of supply of raw materials and commerce. These references must be interpreted as indicators of a widespread textile activity, done by women as a domestic manufacture, hence outside the guild system, and as a consequence not regarded as work, and in many cases not reported.

Plate 9 is a late-19th century picture of a domestic scene that with all probability took place in an identical manner one century before. It shows a patio in Toledo, the province near Ciudad Real, with seven women of different ages and two children playing. One of the women is on the balcony of the top floor tending washed clothes, another is carrying water from the pozo, the other four are seated on low chairs, in a circle, sewing, while the last one is doing the hair of



TOLEDO
UN PATIO

dence of the fact that the
2. Relationship
in making

scribe and to the
in defining the
in "the domestic
as, for instance,
relates literally
(sewing the
ing in the
altitude today
pinning. It
in be able
not only our
own, given the
rate of labor
ences must be
y women to
in sequence of
that with all
shows a great
different part
of the top floor
the other floor
ing the hall of

Thus, the

[illegible]

...the law, and...

one of them. The four women sewing have two big baskets with linen or clothes and the precise work they are doing cannot be identified. This is in any case a most representative image: because it is so common, almost the typical image that travellers took of Manchego women, and because it shows two fundamental features of women's work in La Mancha: mostly textile, and domestic, done at home.

Women working as spinners in mid-18th century Almagro can be calculated from the number of existing looms, some 18 spinners being necessary for each functioning loom.¹⁹² The Cadaster does not mention the number of looms in Almagro, but mentions 5 cloth weavers (3 masters and 2 officials), 3 linen weavers (2 masters and one official), 2 cloth millers, and ten carders (eight masters and two officials). Considering that all masters (but only they) had looms, then there would be 3 wool looms and 2 linen looms, which would yield a minimum of 54 wool spinners supplying the 3 looms.

Yet the most interesting source for textile domestic manufactures in La Mancha at the beginning of the 19th century is the Relaciones of Tomás López. A geographer working for the king, Tomás López elaborated and sent to all villages an Interrogatorio in the most pure enlightened style, as part of his project to write a Geografía of the country. The Interrogatorio includes many questions about the types of soil, etc, but some of them refer to the economic activities of the inhabitants. It was sent to the parish priests, who often produced detailed accounts of the economic and physical characteristics of their towns.

Reports corresponding to some villages and towns near Almagro exist that provide us with particularly interesting data, for they often describe activities that were not regarded as such in statistical accounts.

In Santa Cruz de Mudela, for instance,

¹⁹² "To work regularly, a wool loom needed 3 workers -a 'hand' worker, a estambrero, and a carder, and at least 18 spinners". Parejo, Industria dispersa e industrialización en Andalucía, p. 208.

these vecinos occupy themselves in working wools from which they weave cloths, *Gerguetas*, *Barraganes*, *Estambrado* and *Ligas* of all colours; from two to three thousands *arrobas* of wool are worked every year ¹⁹³; and five hundred of flax, and hemp in linens, there being quite a few of the women, even of distinction, who devote themselves to this work. Most of the said articles these naturals take to Extremadura, and in exchange they bring wax en rama, which they purified in presses adapted to it, taking then most of it to Madrid and the rest of it they process it at home. ¹⁹⁴

In Miguelturna "there are no factories established in this village, and only some people occupy themselves in buying ten, twenty or thirty *arrobas* of wool, depending on how much they can; they give it to be carded to those that occupy themselves on this in this village, women spin it in tornos, and the four weavers weave it, take it to the cloth mill, and they take out *Albornoces*, *Picotes*, *Rajas* and mixes that they sell with profit, because it makes desirable clothes for farmers and countryside people, leaving an important profit to the workers. Women occupy themselves in knitting stockings...".

This coexistence of fieldwork and textile work as seasonal activities recalls the proto-industrial model. But these domestic textile industries had a most important difference from lace making. Employing mostly male labour, wool and linen production had been organized since the Middle Ages, so workers appear identified, according to the traditional guilds' hierarchy, as masters, journeymen or apprentices. ¹⁹⁵

Stocking making was a traditional domestic manufacture of the region, probably more widespread than lace making since it had some advantages over lace. It required a less sophisticated technique, the raw material (wool thread) was easily obtainable, pieces were more rapidly finished, and the final product was much more easily marketable. "Medias de Toledo", as the stockings coming from la Mancha were known, were consumed in towns, particularly in Madrid, where they would be sold by the same muleteers that had arrived with other

¹⁹³ The *arroba* had a weight of about 25 pounds.

¹⁹⁴ BN, section Manuscritos.

¹⁹⁵ Carmona Badía, El atraso industrial de Galicia. Auge y liquidación de las manufacturas textiles (1750-1900).

goods. Plate 10 shows one of these Manchego street sellers offering in Madrid the stockings that he had carried from his village of origin.

Domestic manufacture of stockings, however, entered a period of definitive decline at the end of the 18th century, when foreign textile goods began to arrive more easily to the middle-class urban consumer, who as a consequence abandoned the traditional, poor-quality stockings. ¹⁹⁶

One of the occupations in which women always appear is as laundresses. Table II. 14. shows the names, marital status (Unmarried, Married, Widow) and age of the laundresses mentioned in the Memoriales.

Table II. 14. Almagro. Women working in services: laundresses

María Camacho	U	30	
? Pardo	U	30	
Isabel Baquero	W	46	(and lace maker)
Josepha Ruiz	U	22	
María Fernández	U	33	
Sebastiana Fernández	U	30	
Manuela de la Rubia	W	40	
Manuela Lazerra	W	46	
Antonia Ximénez	W	50	
María Gómez	W	33	
F. Rodríguez's wife	M		(and lace maker)
Working for convents:			
Manuela Gutiérrez	?		Monastery of Calatravas
Josefa de Ramos	?		id.
María de Ornero	?		Convent of Bernardas

The clients of wage laundresses were private families and convents. In fact, washing clothes seems to have been a task so identified with women, that it was the only task done by women in male convents. Of the 17 people working for the Convento de San Francisco in 1784, the only two women were

¹⁹⁶ According to the French traveller Alexander de Laborde, "The stockings made in Spain are of a loose texture, owing to the improper method in which silk-throwsting is conducted, they are badly dressed and worse glossed: the Spanish people themselves prefer French stockings, and most of those manufactured in the country are exported to America". *A View of Spain*, vol.I, p.344.

laundresses. According to the books of the Convent, in 1773 Josefa Fernández was hired "with the obligation of washing and mending" and an annual wage of 18 ducados and 3 celemines of wheat for the starch of the altar clothes, a cart full of wood to boil the water and pound and a half of soap every week.¹⁹⁷

Plate 11 shows a picture from the 1900's of a group of professional laundresses near Almagro. Some 13 women on mules, with other mules loaded with loads of clothes, address themselves to the river.

The existence of laundering as a wage activity for women shows the greater degree of social differentiation of Almagro compared to smaller towns such as the Pasiego villages. No women appeared recorded as laundress in Pas: washing of clothes was done by the wives or daughters as part of the housework that was assigned to them, or by maid servants in the few cases of clergymen or wealthier individuals in the la Vega's Casco. In societies with a wealthier elite living according to cultural norms inspired in those of the urban aristocracy, the tasks corresponding to housework change. Hidalgo women lived out the higher social position of their families by not doing certain tasks. Laundering was the task preferentially not performed by the women of the family because of its public nature. So poorer women were paid to do it. Instances of hidalgo women performing instead tasks that could be done at home, such as needlework or knitting (or even laundering at home) are abundant.

Subsistence activities

Besides the activities performed in the market, for wages, other activities were done outside the market that sometimes were even more important for the subsistence of the family.

One of the most diffused domestic productions was poultry or keeping pigs. According to the declarations to the Cadaster officials, 6,3 % of the 1.883 households had pigs. Many others bought the pig before killing it.

¹⁹⁷ Maldonado, El Convento de San Francisco, Parador Nacional de Almagro, p.36 y sigs.

✧ VISTAS PANORÁMICAS DE LA MANCHA ✧



FUOTADH "El Puente del destino" es la impresión que surge al observar los ríos y las banas de Foutallah y el río Senegal en la zona de Fouta-Djallon por el camino que nos condujo al acampamento.

THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

ALBANY, N. Y.
JAN 18 1850
ADAMS & CO. 181 N. 3RD ST.
NEW YORK

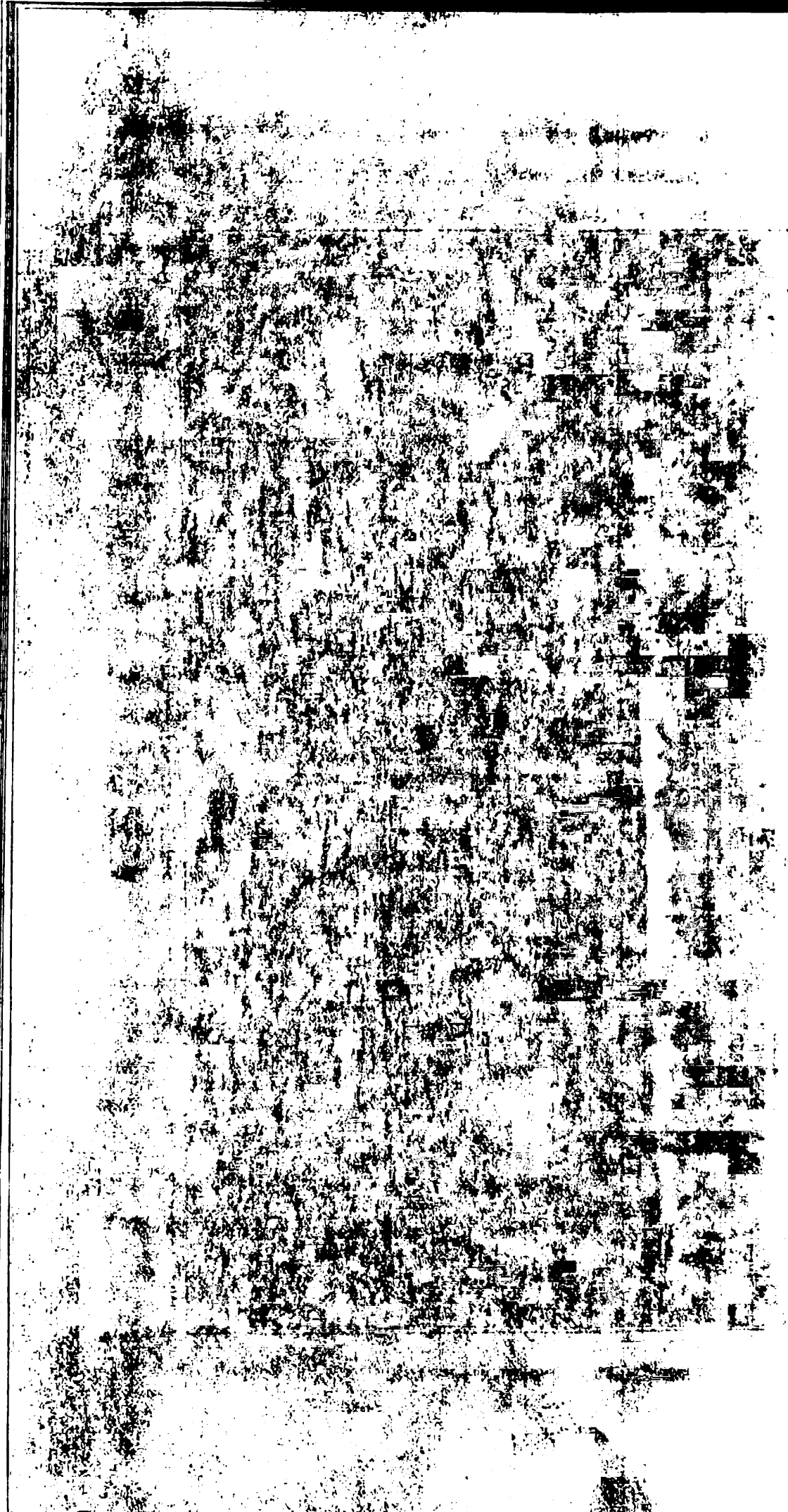


Table II. 15. Almagro. Distribution of property of pigs

pigs	households	%	total pigs	%
10 and more	18	1,0	986	81,5
3 to 9	23	1,2	122	10,1
1 and 2	78	4,1	102	8,4
Total	119	6,3	1.210	100

A double pattern of tenency of pigs emerges: on the one hand, 18 proprietors with large holdings (Count of Valparaíso with 472), and small holdings of between 5 and 9, these being usually workers of larger *piaras* themselves. On the second hand, the 119 households who maintain one or two pigs for family consumption.

Fishing and hunting were traditional activities for the poor families of the region. The presence of small lagoons in the region explains the traditional practice of fishing for family consumption or to sell in the market. In mid-18th century some men declared themselves as "fishermen" in Almagro and two in Daimiel.

A fundamental piece of subsistence activities was children's work. Children would start working as early as four or five, first helping their parents or older relatives, then often working as servants only for maintenance, finally making a salary as soon as they were hired. In fact, the very concept of "childhood" is a late 18th century creation, very much defined as an age in which children should not work, in an attempt to create a new norm, in opposition to the traditional employment of women.

In mid 19th century Almagro, 806 girls from 4 to 5, and 677 from 5 to 9 were included according to the factory owner among the 8.041 workers of the lace factory, which makes a total of 1. 483 workers, or 18,5% of the total labour force,

under nine. ¹⁹⁸

Collecting timber and wood was a subsistence activity and a children's task. In the Responses to the Interrogatorio many householders declared this as the main activity of their sons.

Fathers used to take their sons with them to the fields or with the cattle, waiting for the moment in which they could be hired. Cristóbal García, 35, shepherd, had a son, aged 10, "who works for no salary following his father ". The two sons of Manuel Sobrino, day labourer, ages 11 and 9, "go with their father to the fields". The youngest son of Gabriel Villanueva, 14, helped his father carrying and selling water.

Parents encouraged their children to serve a master for no pay when they were little, in the hope that they would be assumed later. The youngest son of Francisco de Reyes, 10, was serving in the house "doing mandados and whatever he is asked for, with no payment."

The son of Ysabel Baquero, a widow lace maker, aged 12, worked "treshing, collecting asparagus and other field works".

¹⁹⁸ At the Tobbacco Factory of La Coruña, there were 471 female workers around 1815, of which 122 (26%), were ages 9 to 14. Alonso Alvarez, "De la manufactura a la industria: la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de La Coruña", p.23.

3. Rute

Table II. 16. shows the structure of the population of Rute that can be deduced from the data provided by the Cadaster on the status of inhabitants: 199

Table II. 16. Population of Rute, by status, 1752.

		Householders		Coresidents			
			espouses	children	relatives	servants	Total

Women							
married	6	831	--	--	--		837
unmarried	47	--	1. 147	85	69		1.348
widows	223	--	--	13	--		236
Total	276	831	1. 143	98	69		2. 421
Men							
married	831	--	--	--	--		831
unmarried	98	--	1. 262	43	15		1.410
widowers	87	--	--	--	--		87
Total	1. 016	--	1. 262	43	15		2. 336
Ecclesiastic	41						41
Total	1. 333	831	2. 409	141	84		4. 798

The Cadaster supplies data on the occupations of 23% of the 1. 262 male children (including nine students and six crippled).

The structure of activity in mid-18th century

In mid-18th century, Rute appears as one of the "rural towns" characteristics of Southern Spain, similar in some of its features to Almagro, a town with almost 5.000 inhabitants, a complex social structure, a very diversified

199 The Cadaster fails to provide women's age and marital status, so in order to classify women coresidents by status, it has been assumed that mothers, mothers-in-law, and grandmothers of householders were widows, while the rest (45 sisters, 27 nieces, 7 grand-daughters, 3 female relatives, 2 sisters-in-law, 1 cousin), as well as female servants, have been classified as unmarried. Women householders were in all six cases married to absent men.

structure of activity.

Although it had retained an agrarian basis to its economy, a demand for goods and services typically urban had developed: artisans, shopkeepers, small manufacturers, who cater not only local demand, but exported their production outside Rute. Trade occupied an important number of men, known as muleteers.

Table II. 17. shows the structure of activity as recorded by the Cadaster of Ensenada.

Table II. 17. Rute, 1752. The structure of activity according to the Cadaster				
	Men	%	Women	%
Agriculture-livestock	917	64,8	--	
Hortelanos	51		--	
Farmers	104		--	
Day labourers	762		--	
Manufactures	156	11,0	--	
Textile/leather	83		--	
Others	73		--	
Services	162	11,5	70	
commerce	10		1	
public officials	33		--	
proffesionals	27		--	
Muleteers	77		--	
Domestic servants	15		69	
Non occupied	179	12,6	30	
Crippled	40		--	
Clergymen	81		--	
mendicants	20		30	
proprietors	38		--	
Total	1.414	100	100	

As the table shows, the largest part of the male working population was occupied in agriculture. Male householders were grouped into four categories, of which one, "labradores por mano ajena", or proprietors non working their lands themselves, have been classified here as "proprietors" and part of the non

working population.

The three other agricultural working groups were farmers or *labradores por su mano* (12,8%), *hortelanos* (6,3%) and day labourers or *jornaleros* (80,8 %). This means that only 19,1% of the householders engaged in agricultural work (13,4% of the total male occupied population) were occupied as such over the year. If we include the non-householders, the structure of the agricultural labour force remains almost identical: 68,8 % of male non-householders defined themselves as *jornaleros*.

Such a structure of agricultural occupation depended heavily upon the seasonal demand of labour of the great estates dedicated to dry farming.

The following is a description of these three categories of agricultural workers as seen around 1767 by Pablo de Olavide, a reformist who held different government positions in Andalucía. After describing the landowners and leasers of large estates, he mentions

those who rent small pieces of land, here called *pelentrines*. Of these there are many in these places, towns and cities: it is a respectable and hardworking class of men, who through their industry, have acquired two or three mules which they maintain, and a small capital with which they pay the rent in advance, as is customary. They are the ones who work a large part of the plowed land, but they cannot plow it well because they have no nearby house in which to shelter, nor can they be helped by their wives or children, who remain where they are, becoming accustomed to idleness and mendicity; nor can they become attached to the land they plow, because each year they are threatened with losing it; nor can they take advantage of their livestock's manure, because they have no place to collect it (...) because of the great amount of time they waste in going back and forwards every day to their houses.

Then Olavide describes the day labourers, who

occupy themselves in going to work to the *cortijos* or olive groves, but only when the administrators of the estates call them, that is, in working seasons. Although almost naked and always sleeping on the floor, at least then they survive with the bread and *gazpacho* they get. But when the dead season arrives, during which it is impossible to work because of the weather (...) they die of hunger, have no shelter, nor hope, and see themselves obliged to beg (...) These men are day workers half the year, and the other half beggars. ²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Pablo de Olavide, *Informe sobre la Ley Agraria* (1767), quoted in A. M. Calero, *Movimientos sociales en Andalucía (1820-1936)*, p. 103.

Access of landless peasants to common lands was limited as well. The part of the common lands that could be tilled was auctionned each year, and the profits of this lease were supposed to go to the common and the town granary. But this was never achieved, for the local powerful men, such as council men, controlled these auctions and obtained for themselves the leases at very low prices. As a text of 1741 denounced,

the plots belonging to the *propios* were leased by the council men through false intermediaries at low prices, and out of fear of them, no one had the courage to put the prices to their fair level, which is against the interest of the *propios* themselves, and the commonality ²⁰¹.

This was just one of the many mechanisms through which a new elite of local landowners emerged. As a result of the concentration of land property, together with the control of the local power by a group of individuals, the situation of day labourers, the largest group of the population, was of extreme need. The problems of this population of day workers appear periodically during the 18th century. If rains had been insufficient, and the harvest was scarce, wages were well below what families would need to survive.

With increasing demographic pressure in the second half of the 18th century, some initiatives to 'solve' the problem were periodically discussed. For instance, small amounts of land were distributed at the end of the 18th century. In 1797 the Town Council sent a representation to the duke of Sessa on the conditions in which the working population was. Given the abundance of untilled land, the Council suggested the duke to permit them to lend some of the untilled lands of his property.

In an answer that shows the influence of Enlightened ideas and language, the duke assured the Council that his "main concern has been and is to insure the well being of my vassals, and to promote agriculture as the most solid means to provide them with subsistence, for the good of the State." As a consequence, he had decided "to permit as many householders as possible to establish themselves in the land that Your Graces indicate and which are part of my estate,

²⁰¹ García Jiménez, *Textos para la historia de Rute*, p. 61.

imposing on each one the moderate rent fixed in relation to the other rents" 202.

In this manner, the distribution and lending of plots proceeded. The way in which the town council organized it, though, and the extent to which this measure succeeded in alleviating poor families, can be deduced from the documents on the riot that occurred seven years later, in 1803. A witness declared that he

had heard publicly in the town square (where) there were many day workers that they and all the town were unhappy because don alonso del valle was going to plow the *cortijo* de la Mata, the Town official don José Dorado was going to plow the vineyard named of Pepico, and don Francisco Almirón, Town official as well, was going to plow the land entitled *de las Pilas* (...) all this displeased them greatly because if His Excellency, who is the owner of all these lands, were to work them, it would not displease them at all, but getting outside tenants to work them, this they would not accept and they would refuse it and impede it in every possible way.²⁰³

As this text shows, the professional elite of the town was taking advantage of its privileged position to become land proprietors or to enlarge their holdings, using their role in the local institutions to achieve their goal.

Day labourers fiercely opposed this possibility. Not so much because they defended the old privileges, but probably because the land was much more easily "used" if owned by an absentee noble than by a new local proprietor, eager to change its use and to exercise a closer control over it. Traditional practices of the landless population, such as hunting, collecting olives and other fruits, gleaning, or cutting wood, would become then impossible or much more difficult.

Working conditions of day labourers were established by the Cabildo, or town council. This periodically listed the different tasks done by agricultural day-labourers and their price, or daily wages, as well as other conditions such as the daily time to be worked, payments in kind, etc. One of these documents, of 1774, defines all the agricultural works as done by men, with the only exception of *escarda*, which is defined as done by "women and boys".²⁰⁴

202 The document is dated in Madrid on 1797. García Jiménez, *Textos para la historia de Rute*, p. 51.

203 García Jiménez, *Textos para la Historia de Rute*, p. 53.

204 "Tasación que hace el cabildo de los jornales agrarios" [1774], García Jiménez, *Ibidem*, p.54.

Manufactures: Textiles

The Cadaster mentions 23 activities organized according to the traditional guild structure. They correspond mainly to artisans and manufacturers. Table II. 18. lists these activities and the wages earned in them.

Table II. 18. Rute, 1752. Crafts workers and their daily wages (reales)

occupation	masters wage		journeymen wage		Total workers
Sculptor	1	8	--		1
Stonecutters	1	7	1	3,5	2
Masons	1	6	3	5	4
Shoe makers	11	6-4	17	2,5	28
Carpenters	3	5	3	2,5	6
Wineskin makers	1	5	--		1
Curtidores	1	4	1	3	2
Zurradores	1	4	1		2
Aladreros ²⁰⁵		8 4		9 2,5	1 7
Tailors	2	4	--		2
Packsaddlers makers	1	4	1		2
Blacksmiths	4	4,5-3-2,5	--		4
Cordon makers	3	4-3	7	2,5	10
average wage masters		3,9			
Grain milliners	4	3,5	5	2,5	9
Dyers	1	3	1		2
Latoners	1	2,5	1		2
Cloth weavers	5	2,5	14	2,5	19
		average wage journ		2,4	
Perayres	--		3	2	3
Cerrageros	2	2,5	--		2
Farriers	3	2,5	3	1-1,5	6
Cobblers	3	2-1			3
Total	57		70		127
Agricultural labourers	154	2,5			154
Day labourers	659	2,5			659
					926

²⁰⁵ Aladrero: "Carpenter who makes or repairs plows and other agricultural tools".

Craft workers were classified as 57 masters and 70 journeymen or *oficiales*. Apprentices were not recorded. Not all the crafts had both categories of workers: *perayres* were only journeymen, whilst the sculptor or *tallista*, the two *odrereros*, or wineskin makers, the 2 tailors, the 4 farriers and two *cerrageros* had no assistants.

To obtain an exact perception of the earning capacity of the different artisans a link must be made between their wages and the number of artisans in each trade. The reason why the *tallista* earns 4 times more than other artisans could be his particularly valuable artistic skills, the fact that the wealthy monasteries and convents were his clients, or the fact that he was the only artisan in town.

As usual, construction workers appear in the top positions of the earnings ranking. Stonecutters, masons and carpenters, all were relatively well-rewarded for their labours.

Wineskin makers, tanners and skin preparers were all crafts related to the preparation of skins and leather. The two main exports of Rute, wine and oil, transported by the muleteers, required wineskins as receptacles to transport them.

On the other hand, trade and muleeter breeding was a main occupation in Rute, and some jobs related to mules, such as packsaddlers or *albarderos* had developed as secondary activities derived from them.

Below the imagined line of the average wage, there were the cobblers, as in Almagro a "low job", farriers, and the textile workers.

Textile manufactures consisted of production of wool and silk fabrics.

In 1753, according to the Cadaster, there was only a cloth mill, which produced very low-quality cloths. Table II. 19. shows the structure of male occupation in textile manufactures.

Table II. 19. Rute. Male textile workers in 1752.

	Householders	relatives	Total
cloth fabricants	5	--	5
weavers	9	3	11
carders	4	1	5
cloth millers	1	3	4
dyers	1	--	1
cordon makers	3	3	6
Total	23	10	32

The decline of textile manufactures was not a new development. In 1686 Rute had sent a report to the Corregidor of Córdoba pointing to foreign competition as the cause of the decline of its wool and flax textiles:

in this town there has been much dealing in manufactures of wool and flax, of which all the naturals dress themselves and they were sold to the foreigners, and this has ceased, either for the calamity of the times, or, what seems more true to me, by cause that these articles have been traded by foreigners (...) by which cause the said factories in this town have ceased, and at the present they are very few. ²⁰⁶.

By the end of the 18th century, textile manufactures were reduced to some stages of the fabrication of wool fabrics: spinning, *urdido* and weaving. Other stages, such as *tundido*, dying and *darle tijera*, or cutting it, had to be performed outside Rute.

In a report of 1779 the Town Council described a very similar situation, with little production, all of wool, and of a poor quality. Some of the stages of the textile manufacture had disappeared:

deve informar esta villa que el paño que se labra en ella es burdo catorzeno de lana de este país que se carda de borras imprimando y quateando la lana, después su hilado, hurdido y texido, y última labor el batán y queda de su monte; y así se vende sin otro nombre que el de pardo o burdo sin más labor, a ezepción del vezino que para su gasto hecha algún retraso y lleva fuera a tundir, teñir y darle tixera por no haver en esta villa instrumentos para esa labor y queda siempre el paño en la clase de catorzeno y con el nombre de Negrete" ²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ García Jiménez, *Textos para la historia de Rute*, document 28, p.86.

²⁰⁷ García Jiménez, *Ibidem*, doc. 29, p.88.

Flax manufactures had apparently disappeared by mid-18th century. One of the indications of flax manufacturing is the domestic fabrication of bleach, which was used to wash and whiten the linens made in the domestic workshops.

Bleach was made out of ashes. Women bleach makers, or *legianderas*, took the linens to a plain near the river and they carried on the last stage of the manufacturing process there. The first regulations of this activity, including prohibitions to make fires (that *legianderas* used to obtain the ashes), are from late 16th century. ²⁰⁸

Silk production was limited, at the end of the 18th century, to the raw material, since "not being in this town any kind of manufacture of ribbons or other, the owners take it to the town of Priego, or those vecinos [from Priego] came here for it" ²⁰⁹.

Some preparation and dying of leather still existed in 1753: "una tenería con quatro noques y quatro noquetas con agua de pié (..) una piedra que también tiene la dha Cortiduría para moler el poquísimo zumaque que se coje..."

Processing of agricultural products

The Catastro mentions some cellars and warehouses for wine and olive oil. These were in fact the main productions. Products of wine included vinegar and alcoholic beverages such as waterfires.

There were also three bakeries to make bread, and 15 bread makers, two of which were women.

The inn keeper was also a turrón maker. Honey, which was needed for turrón making, was also locally produced: there were 16 owners of 245 beehives.

In Rute there was one soap manufacturer, although most women made

²⁰⁸ In 1522 a municipal regulation was issued to regulate "the fires made by the *legianderas*", which ordered "that no women sea osada de hacer fuego en las fuentes del término de esta villa para hacer lejía en el tiempo que los fuegos están vedados..." *Ordenanzas antiguas y Cavildos*, AMR, leg. 47-1, folio 5 recto. .

²⁰⁹ García Jiménez, *Ibidem*, document 30, p.89.

their own soap at home. The best soap was produced with olive oil; it was one of the products from Andalucía sold in Madrid and other urban markets.

Trade

Given its distance from the main towns, transport had developed as one of the activities in which Rute was specialized. Rute's muleteers were known throughout Andalucía. As Table II. 20. shows, transport with mules was, around mid-18th century, Rute's more profitable industrial activity. ²¹⁰

Table II. 20. Rute, 1753. Most profitable industrial activities.

	utilities (reales)
Muleteers	121.950
Bread makers	16.400
Silkworm breeders	16.000
Cloth manufacturers	12.600
Rentiers of provincial taxes	11.000
Cattle dealers	7.000
Surgeons and barbers	6.900
Skin dealers	6.000
Spices dealers	5.000

Transportation with mules was important also as a source of occupation for men, one that permitted a certain degree of diversification from traditional dependance upon agricultural labour. According to the Cadaster, trade was the occupation of 77 men, 5,4 % of the male working population and 47,5 % of the male population occupied in services.

Retail trade was usually women's work. Most of the stalls at Rute's market in the plaza, were run by women, but it is impossible to know their number,

²¹⁰ "Estado de las cantidades a que ascienden en la villa de Rute de la provincia de Córdoba las utilidades yndustriales de seglar.s y las que le resultan a los colonos arren.res de tierra.s de ecc.cos y su total", AHPC, Catastro de Ensenada, book 565, vol. I.

since they rarely appear in the records. Evidence of this activity is limited to dispersed references. In 1815, for instance, in a report sent by the Superior of the Convento de Religiosos Recoletos denouncing the excesses of the town's mayor, some references to women street sellers appear:

The woman Baker called *la Manchega*, to whom the Rejidor Don José Laso denounced a piece of bread, they fined her fifty ducados. To Ysabel Crespo *la Paloma*, store keeper, because she would not accept a coin of two quarters given to her by a woman who went for beans (...) with no justification she was put in jail, and fined ten ducados. 211

Besides trade, other paid services were important sources for peasant families as well. Mainly women were occupied in them, as domestic servants and laundresses. It is also possible that women from the disperse settlements near Lucena took in foundlings from the Foundling Hospital of Lucena. Chapter IV explores provides some evidence of this paid activity for the end of the 19th century.

Subsistence activities

Analyzing the income of agricultural labourers in mid-18th century in the Andalusian town of Baños, with a male occupational structure very similar to that of Rute 212, Richard Herr finds it very difficult to account for the subsistence of these families. "Even though all reports were that Andalusian labourers lived on pitifully little", Herr's minimum estimate, "derived from the share of the harvests attributed to labor, equal to a return on sixty days' work, cannot be considered adequate for these families. (...) Where else could they turn?", asks Herr.

He suggests two possible alternative sources of earnings: one, "the extensive *término privativo*, whose use according to the royal grant was open to

211 folio 15 recto.

212 69,5 agricultural, 8,5 crafts, 1,9 transportation, 7,7 services, 4,7 public officials, 4,1 clergy and 3,6 without occupation. Herr, *Rural Change*, p. 401.

every vecino." Yet he finds that only a very small part of the area available was actually cultivated, probably because the poorest jornaleros could not afford the seed or necessary tools and use of animals.

Jornaleros might also have found, according to Herr, "work outside the town limits", as seasonal harvesters in nearby towns and villages. ²¹³

The problem posed by day labourers in Rute is similar to that faced by Herr regarding Baños's day labourers. And all possible explanations seem ambiguous as well, for although there was a demand for small plots to be cultivated, no evidence exists that it was ever satisfied.

Non quantitative sources, such as municipal regulations, suggest instead a third possibility, which at least in the case of Rute seems to account better for the subsistence of landless families. This was the intense exploitation of the forest and mountains near the town.

The forests and thickets around the mountains of Rute provided a fundamental resource for Rute's poorer inhabitants. They were an important part of the population, for we should consider as such the 762 day labourers that appear in the Cadaster, plus the female householders and the mendicants, although these lived more on the relief provided by the church.

Most of the municipal regulations collected in the 17th century refer to various uses of the forest, in general prohibitions and restrictions. Landowners themselves seem to have been flexible in permitting these uses, considering that this was a means to avoid starvation that implied no changes in the structure of property, or an increase in wages.

The main uses of the forest were: collection of fruits for human and animal consumption (particularly pigs or goats were regularly fed with wild fruits); collecting firewood; basket weaving and making wood articles out of oisiers or sticks; hunting and fishing, and 'industrial' uses such as making coal. Fabrication of coal from wood was a common activity, which the town council

²¹³ Herr, *Royal finances*, p. 405.

prohibited during the very hot summers, in order to prevent fires. 214

Title 14 of the Regulations regarded the collecting of acorn. Acorn was the main product used to feed pigs, but it was consumed by poor people as well. The "second law" of this title in fact explains that

it is costumarily used and kept that one can collect acorn to eat, and that not being more than up to half a celemin he has no punishment for this, and this is so discussed and understood that is taken by regulation and law (...) it was ordered today, the day of the collection of these regulations, to be regarded as law that no punishment can be done to who who takes some acorns to eat or home to roast. 215

Hunting was another activity that provided food for poor people. In the sierra around Rute a great variety of animals existed, of which a much reduced sample remains today. Rute's inhabitants hunted wild boars, deer, birds of all classes, and collected their eggs. Hunting rabbits and partridges was regulated, rabbits being prohibited from April to September. It was also prohibited to hunt with ferret. Evidence exists that most families bred animals as hunting aids. The pieces hunted were both for family consumption and selling, although regulations were enacted in an attempt to prevent hunters from selling their catch outside Rute. 216

This vast array of activities was favoured by the climate, which permitted life to be carried on outside. The forests provided many ways of surviving, or even of making a living, and is probable that many of Rute's families lived during the year, or at least for some parts of it, from this non-market activities. The clear distinction between work and leisure of industrial societies, and to a lesser extent, of all wage labour, cannot be found here. The boundaries between working and non-working time, and between activities done for family consumption or to sell, disappear.

214 "Desde esta fecha hasta pasado el día de S. Miguel 29 de septiembre próximo, ninguna persona sea osada a cortar leña o monte bajo con destino a hacerla picón...". Bando of July, 11, 1833, published in the Boletín oficial de la provincia de Córdoba.

215 fol. 6 vuelto.

216 "que ninguna pesona sea osada de llevar a vender fuera parte ninguna caza de la que en los terminos de esta villa se toma sin licencia del consejo..."

The importance of informal, non-wage family earnings has been increasingly noticed by historians of European peasantry. "The poor's rights to gather wood, turves, wild fruits, furze, and other natural resources clearly allowed them to garner substantial quantities of fuel and food, yet these benefits were so piecemeal and so intermittent that their monetary value is hard to estimate" 217.

These non-waged activities are defined by historians as "informal" because they take place outside the market, but they were probably considered as "formal" or central for their economies by landless families as wage activities. As these, informal activities were regulated by cultural norms and traditions, an allocation of the family labour resources occurred. Some were 'women's work', others 'men's work' and still threfore others the work of children or the elderly.

Gleaning was "one of the few customary activities controlled almost exclusively by women" in England and Wales 218, and a most important activity in grain areas in Spain as well. Given the very low agricultural wages for women, even where they were hired for the harvest, it is possible that, as in England, "women could earn more for themselves by gleaning than by other forms of harvest work" 219.

Another non-waged, "informal" activity which seems to have been important for landless people in Rute was contraband. References to contraband are abundant for Andalucia in general, where the perfect combination of elements for it existed: a poor population, eager to take advantage of any possibility of improving their miserable lives, and frequent opportunities given

217 P. King, "Customary rights and women's earnings: the importance of gleaning to the rural labouring poor, 1750-1850", p. 461.

218 "Given the collapse of spinning employment and the increasing problems rural women were experiencing in finding work by the early nineteenth-century, gleanings would have represented a major source of income to most widows." King, op. cit., p. 466.

219 King, Ibidem, p. 471. Studying the role of gleaning in 18th and 19th centuries in England and Wales, King has pointed out that "gleanings of barley and beans were very useful as feed for chickens, pigs, and other animals, but wheat gleanings were more central to the living standards of the poor since they supplied them with bread during the post-harvest months, when wages and employment prospects were at their lowest". Ibidem, p. 462. Gleaning "contributed up to one-eighth of annual household earnings and often even more in households headed by widows." (p. 474)

the fact that main roads to the Southern seaports traversed the region, with travellers, official transportation of money, etc.

Campomanes mentioned in the 1770s and 1780s contraband as an activity typical of jornaleros in both La Mancha and Cordoba. The system of tenancy of the land, "contrary to the principles of the good agriculture" was responsible for "the indigence of the naturals of the Kingdoms of Cordoba and Seville": "the people is there a miserable aggregate of day labourers, to whom the rentiers of the cortijos occupy at seasons, and the rest of the year they see themselves obliged to beg or to occupy themselves in contraband." ²²⁰

Rute was one of the centers of this contraband activity in the oriental part of Andalucia by the end of the 18th century. ²²¹

The description made here of Rute's occupational structure points to a clear division between a part of the population with permanent earnings (such as domestic servants, muleteers or artisans) or access to the land, and another part, the day labourers, for whom the seasonal demand for agricultural labour was clearly insufficient to maintain themselves during the year. The sources tell very little about them.

²²⁰ C. de Castro, "Mercado y sociedad estamental en Campomanes".

²²¹ S. Madrazo, El sistema de transportes en España. 1750-1850, vol. 2, p. 592.

5. "A difficult labrynth to get out of": Housework in rural economies.

At the beginning of this chapter some of the problems suscited by housework during the process of data collecting for the Catastro were discussed. This and other evidence will be now used in order to provide an understanding of unpaid housework in 18th century peasant Spain, how it was organized and to what extent the fact that it was women's duty affected men's and women's paid work.

In April 20, 1771, the Junta Central of the Catastro had sent a resolution on how to record women's work, according to which "the salaries, wages and other gains acquired by female Servants and Women be considered within the Industrial branch, excluding only the work they put into the lands they cultivate which are owned by their Husbands".

Some days later, officials collecting the data for the Cadaster in Almagro wrote a representation to the Central Office in which, after affirming that "regarding the female Servants, the said order offers no doubt", and that, regarding other female occupations, "there being in this Town no Factories nor other similar Commerces in which they could employ themselves, but only the common use of the pillow, or sewing, all of such a little importance as is notorious, and it is the daughters of families who can usually occupy themselves in such work", they posed the following doubt:

it seems that the Female heads of House and Families who have n o occupation other than the house's government, cannot have this considered. It is the same for Women and other female Workers who always occupy themselves in house work and house keeping in their families. As a consequence, they cannot apply themselves to other work, and it is clear (as Your Grace will know) that from any angle this is viewed, it is a labrynth of complicated exit, difficult and time consuming ²²².

The official response arrived some days later, ordering the officials to "only include in the Repartimiento the utilities of female Servants, and Women who are Weavers, or other works (...) and also those who get them through whatever deal or commerce they could have".

²²² AHCR, Hacienda, leg. 789, Correspondance of different towns regarding the Cadaster.

The same month another town near Almagro, Calzada de Calatrava, presented a similar doubt, this time elaborated in a way that strikes us as to the modernity of its economic reasoning:

the Doubt has arisen, as if those women who only exercise themselves in the care, administration and Domestic government of their Houses must be included, considering them some profits for this occupation, for we notice without doubt, that the House that has no Woman of its own for the said administration, needs a Woman to perform it, and pays her a salary. We put this doubt before Your Grace's opinion in order that You may resolve ²²³

The response, once again, was "not to include any profit to Women for the government and care of their houses."

But the question remains that contemporaries seems to have been aware, first, that there "Women and other female Workers who always occupy themselves in house work and house keeping in their families", an activity so time consuming that "as a consequence, they cannot occupy themselves on other work." This also implies that housework and the care of families was not only necessary, but a priority. Secondly, it also appears that this type of work, although not for the market, had nevertheless a market-value that could be easily calculated, since "the House that has no Woman of its own for the said administration, needs a Woman to perform it, and pays her a salary."

The study of housework is very difficult from the available sources. In the following pages I present the evidence on housework in the three areas studied. Two aspects of housework are interesting to a discussion of the formation of the supply of labour: the extent to which the fact that housework was primarily done by women affected women's entrance in the labour market, and to what extent men's exemption from housework affected their entrance in the labour market. Last, I analyze the different interpretations offered to explain why housework was women's work.

The main source for housework in the mid-18th century are the *Memoriales* themselves, because some householders mentioned housework as

²²³ AHVR, Hacienda, leg. 789.

the occupation of their daughters or wives.

In Almagro, Memoriales suggest that lace making families had developed an internal distribution of labour in which one of the female members of the family (generally a young daughter) took care of the housework, in order to let the rest of the women occupy themselves in lace making:

Ana García, a widow of 55, had a son and two daughters: "the male is 18, exercises himself in day labourer, the first female is 30, named Ysabel, occupies herself in serving the house; the second is 20, named Manuela, occupies herself in making lace", or Juan Naranjo, baker, 45, his wife 41, 6 sons (21, also a baker, 9, 7, 5, 3 and year and a half), and three daughters, the eldest 19, lace maker, the second 17, who works in the bakery, and 11, "occupies herself on serving the house" ²²⁴.

More often, housework was done by women who were at the same time working in textiles or lace for the market. But as the market activity, unlike housework, provided them with earnings, it is always easily identified. For instance, Manuel Alvarez, day labourer, 28, lived with his wife, 30, and his sister in law, orphan, who "occupies herself in the works of the house and in sewing". Estefanía Fernández, 94, had a daughter, 49, who occupied herself "on my assistance and in sewing". Francisco Mayor, master shoemaker, 36, lives with his sister, 27 who occupies herself on "making lace and the rest of the other works that have to be done in the House." Felipe Velázquez, 54, master cart-maker, lived with his wife, 52, two sons of 21, a student, and 7, and two daughters, 23 and 18, "and both occupy themselves in the Government of the House and in working with the hands" ²²⁵.

Eugenio Ruiz del Moral "farmer and official of the Santo Oficio de la Inquisición of Toledo", that is, a rich man with an important social position, 55, lived with his wife, 44, and two orphan nieces, aged 34 and 10 "who occupy themselves in making lace and the rest of what needs to be done in my House." Juan de Flores, farmer, 60, lives with his wife, 55, and two sons aged 29, farmer

²²⁴ AHCR, Hacienda.

²²⁵ "obras de manos". There are many expressions to refer to sewing and needlework.

with the father and 26, "simple", and two daughters aged 22 and 18 that occupy themselves "in the works of the house and in making laces".

Juan de Milla, 44, master shoemaker, lived with his wife, 42, a son, 15, shoemaker like himself, and a daughter, 20, who "occupies herself in the works of the house", and Juan de Herrera, shop-keeper, 62, lives with his wife 55, a son aged 16 who serves with a master, and two daughters, 24, "innocent" or mentally retarded, and 10, who "occupies herself in serving the house".

In all these nine references to housework, it is the daughter or the sister of the householder who performs it. This indicates that work for the market (either lace or sewing) was regarded by the families as an important source of income, and wives were expected to work full-time on it.

References to housework are more common when the father is a widower. The mother dead, one of the daughters has replaced her as domestic worker: Francisco Garrido, a widower, mayoral de lanar, 56, has two sons, 12 ("shepherd and goes with his father") and 8 (occupied "in the same as his father"), and a daughter, 17, María, who "occupies herself in serving the house". Manuel Sobrino, day labourer, widower, had two sons, ages 11 and 9, who occupied themselves in "going with their father to the fields", and two daughters, 7 and 15, who occupied herself in "serving the house".

A rich labrador, Manuel Bautista, 61, had two sons, Francisco, 20, who worked at his father's lands, and Joaquín, 18, student, and a daughter, María, 16, who "makes lace and sewing and Governs the House."

Housework is usually defined as a series of activities. This definition is only partially true, for what characterizes housework is the fact that these activities were done *unpaid* by women, usually for members of their families. In order to analyze housework, the description of the tasks that comprised it is nevertheless a good starting point.

1. Production and preparation of food for family consumption.

It was women's work to prepare the food consumed by the family. This required its purchase and transportation. Women's presence at the town's

markets was customary, but often the wife obtained the food consumed by the family by means other than the market: from exchanges with neighbours or, more generally, by producing it herself, keeping an orchard, raising and slaughtering poultry and other animals.

Poultry was kept by most peasant women, but it was not included in the Cadaster, so references are scanty.²²⁶

Poultry, rabbits and sometimes pigs, were kept during the year in the family's backyard. This required constant work, for animals had to be fed daily, this being one of the most time-consuming tasks of housework on farms.²²⁷ The pig's slaughter in winter was a main celebration in peasant Spain.

Pigs and poultry breeding were women's task.²²⁸ This probably explains why in Almagro only five ecclesiastical individuals owned pigs, and the five small amounts in *piaras*, for they had no women to breed them.

Cooking entailed wood gathering and transportation, often done by children, and the lighting of fires, as well as fetching and carrying coal in other places. The carrying of water could be one of the most time-consuming tasks of peasant societies, and was generally done by women. In Almagro and Rute the Catastro mentions two or three water carriers, who transport water in *cantaros* with a donkey or mule and sell it on the street. Only rich families could afford the daily purchase of the water they consumed, though.

In areas where irrigated lands produced vegetables, canning and

²²⁶ Blas Palacios, of Almagro, declared to pay "a hen paid every year *gallina*" as part of the annual interest of a *censo*.

²²⁷ In the Gallego villages analyzed by Núñez, "it is women who occupy themselves of the breeding pigs; they prepare their food and take it to them (...) The pig is fed with the peels, with the leftovers of the lunches prepared for the family (...) the woman who is peeling the potatoes and washing the vegetables in order to make the soup is preparing at the same time the food for the pig..." *'Cousas de mulleres'*, p. 162.

²²⁸ The slaughter of pigs was carried out in December, for the products require very cold weather to cure. On December of 1752, collection of data for the Cadaster was delayed in Almodóvar for some days, for the wife of Martín Pérez Escobar de Viedma, one of the accounting officials, was ill and he had to replace her in this work: "la indisposición de la muger de Martín Pérez y tener éste que prebenir matanza, ha diferido estos dos o tres días la remesa de la operación de Almodóvar". AHCR, Ensenada, legajo 789, Corral de Calatrava. Correspondencia.

preserving was a common occupation for women. Egg-plants preserved in vinegar with garlic, tomatoes and peppers were a traditional production of the Almagro area ("berenjenas de Almagro"), carried by muleteers in receptacles of barro to Madrid and other towns and sold at the markets.

In general, the absence of systems of refrigeration required that much more time be spent in preparing and preserving the food than in later periods. Complicated techniques existed to keep the meat during the year, such as curing it with salt, spices, and so on.

2. Services to family members and house keeping

Requirements of 18th century peasant households were less than those 20th century. Peasant families lived in poor rooms, often with animals, and the standards of cleanliness were very low.

A task that was traditionally done in all towns of Southern Spain, including la Mancha and Rute, was the whitening of the houses with lime. References to this activity in Rute can be found in chapter IV.

a. Laundry work.

Laundry was exclusively a woman's task. It was also one of the first tasks to become waged work, and hence to provide both rural and urban women with a source of earnings. Whilst in poor families the female members were responsible for washing their clothes and linen, in better-off families, washing was one of the tasks that was never done by the family's women. This was so for two reasons: because it was the hardest of all housework tasks, and because it required the abandonment of the domestic space. Washing was one of the heaviest tasks to be performed, including the carrying of heavy loads of laundry to and from the local washplace... laundry work, tending and repairing linen.

Laundry used to be done in rivers and springs. ²²⁹ Plate 11 had already shown a group of laundresses near Almagro went to the river to wash. Plates 12 and 13 show other laundering scenes. Plate 12 is also from La Mancha, from the 1910's, and is a picture showing six or seven women washing at different point of a very small arroyo. This reminds us that scarcity of water was common in a large part of Spain for most of the year, and that this meant much longer periods on domestic tasks.

Washing involved and required a number of related domestic activities, such as the fabrication of soap. The traditional technique to make soap was from boiling olive oil or, in the poorest families and in general in Northern Spain where oil was an imported product, animal fat. The greasy substance obtained was then left cold, and later cut into pieces that were stored. Another necessary task was the preparation of whitening sustances, such as ashes.

In Rute there are mentions of women washing at nearby small streams ²³⁰

By the 19th century, in larger towns washplaces were sometimes built as a private business. In rural Spain, many towns built washplaces with public money, to facilitate an essential work for the community, using the possibilities of the new water systems, sometimes near the fountains. In Northern Spain, where rivers carried heavy flows particularly in spring time, it was most difficult for women to wash at them, and town councils built public washplaces in almost every town. In Vega de Pas there are two, in two different barrios, and in San Roque and San Pedro one in each, in the town center. Plate 13 shows five women washing at the washplace of Alceda, 10 km from La Vega.

Washplaces were, together with markets, main centers of female

²²⁹ In 1786, the women of Almodóvar, near Almagro, had reassumed washing in the lakes near the town, after a prolonged period during which use of this water had been banned due to the epidemics. Sánchez-Salazar, "Evolución demográfica de la Mancha en el siglo XVIII", art.cit., p. 278.

²³⁰ A report from the parish priest of 1815 criticizing the behaviour of the mayor, mentioned some instances of violence on the mayor's part against women from the town, in both cases related to women either carrying water or washing clothes: "To some poor women, because he founded them with two small jars of salted water, after breaking them, he beaten them with a stick; and he did the same to other poor women, who were washing in the small stream of el Junquillo, near this town". AHN, Consejos, legajo 3.365/30, folio 14 recto.

VIDA MANCHIEGA

NÚM 197

30 CTS

NOTA CAMPESTRE
bavando en el Arroyo



1. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 2. Director
 3. Federal Bureau of Investigation
 4. Washington, D. C.
 5. Dear Sir:
 6. I am writing you to
 7. inform you of the
 8. fact that the
 9. Government has
 10. been advised by
 11. the Attorney General
 12. that the
 13. Government is
 14. not prepared to
 15. grant you a
 16. visa to enter the
 17. United States.
 18. I am sorry that
 19. the Government
 20. cannot do this
 21. for you at this
 22. time.
 23. I am, Sir, very
 24. truly yours,
 25. J. Edgar Hoover
 26. Director

[illegible]

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

SECRET

100-443887-100

MAY 1961
 MAY 1961
 MAY 1961
 MAY 1961
 MAY 1961





socialization, and one of the few recognized female places.

Sometimes, they could be also used as fountains to which men took their animals to drink, in which cases regulations to prevent contact among men and women could be regarded as necessary. This explains the frequent mention of this activity in local regulations. In the 16th century, the town council of Rute noticed this movement around the washplace known as 'el Fresno':

some people tend to stand around near this town's washing place at night which is dangerous for women and young girls who come for water or to wash.

As a consequence, it was ordered that "no person of any estate whatsoever dare to stand or linger near the wash place of this town after sunset or before sunrise".²³¹ Washed clothes were tended in meadows outside the village, open to the sun, and collected again the day after.

b. Sewing and mending of linen and clothes.

As with cloth washing, women produced textiles (sewing, knitting) for the market but also for the family's consumption.

In a period when clothes were expensive articles, mending of clothes became a major female task. In the last decades of the 18th century examples of men sewing are common, for works such as tapestry, embroidery, and others that required sewing, had traditionally been performed by men, organized in guilds. In these decades it was also common for male servants to sew, as can be seen from the advertisements in the Diario de Avisos de Madrid.

But by these decades sewing began to be described as "women's task". This was reinforced by increasing references to the mending of clothes as women's task within the family. More concretely, the family's women were expected to mend the clothes of the family's men.

In 1781, writing in favour of a higher social respectability for artisans, Antonio Arteta de Monteseuro pointed out that one obstacle to such respect by

²³¹ García Jiménez, Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna. p.179.

society lay in the fact that artisans were usually very poorly dressed and their ragged clothes make them look like vagrants and mendicants. So Arteta advises them:

If cleanliness and decency in their clothes were taken care of, not letting them go out to the streets unkempt, without having combed their hair and washed their hands and clothes, nor with their clothes ragged, and they or their mothers and sisters employ their spare time in mending their clothes, sewing or patching them in the same colour and with care, they would not be taken as vagrants or mendicants as usually happens, this abandonment of decency contributing so much to their underestimation ²³².

Mending a man's clothes signified that a woman had a personal relation with such a man. If she was not a relative (the mother, the daughter, the mother in law, the wife, the sister), then she was his mistress. ²³³

c. Childcare

Of all the non-market activities considered as domestic work or housework, childcare appears as one of the most intensely segregated, that is, an occupation almost always done by women (although highly exchangeable among the family's women and even female neighbours or relatives), and rarely by men (elder children or non working grandfathers, but only in the absence of female relatives).

Peasant women spent most of their time working outdoors, in the fields, in the markets, carrying water, etc. In these conditions, taking care of the family's children was difficult, and accidents and children's death seem to have been frequent. ²³⁴

²³² Quoted in Elorza, "La polémica sobre los oficios viles en la España del siglo XVIII", p. 214.

²³³ In a lawsuit against a male servant accused of the rape of a fellow woman servant, in Salamanca, the fact that the young woman had been repeatedly mending his clothes was mentioned by the witnesses as evidence of such a relationship. The Court recognised the existence of such relationship (and condemned him) after the girl produced different witnesses who testified that she "

²³⁴ Accidents suffered by children in peasant homes were one of the main arguments of doctors in criticizing the practice of urban families of sending their children to peasant wet nurses. Since animals were kept physically very close to the family's spaces, frequency of pigs biting

In order to make it possible for women to work on something else while caring for children, different techniques and devices developed. There were two main systems of childcare: one consisted of women carrying the children on their backs, using different methods. Pasiego women, who had a very high degree of mobility, were known for the carrying baskets or cuévanos in which they transported their children and also dairy products, fabrics and the articles with they traded. The image of Pasiego women climbing mountains and walking roads with their children on their backs astonished travellers and came to be identified with them to the point that all graphic representations include them. Plate 14 shows one of these drawings from the early 18th century.

A second system of childcare consisted of the construction of spaces where children could be kept safe from animals while mothers were working.

The period in which children had to be cared for more carefully lasted not very long, for children were autonomous as soon as they were able to walk.

In any case, childcare was one of the tasks that appears as more exchangeable among women within the family: the grandmother, or more usually the eldest daughter, would take care of her younger siblings at a very early age.

In families of jornaleros, where wage labour was fundamental and women were ready to employ themselves whenever there was a work opportunity, or during the peak seasons of olive and grain collection, childcare was not a priority for mothers, who passed it on to their elder daughters. The elder daughter assuming the care of her brothers and sisters seems to have been a traditional pattern of housework and family organization of work in most peasant societies. ²³⁵

These activities could be performed at the same time as work for the market, or at specific periods of the year or the households' life-cycle. Plate 15 shows an Andaluz woman cooking outdoors, while taking care of a child. She

children, even killing them, were nor rare. Sarasúa, Criados, nodrizas y amos, p. 139 and fol.

²³⁵ A Gallego peasant woman interviewed by Méndez explains: "I was 10 in 1940, and I took care of all my brothers while my parents were in the lands; I was so small that I used to have to call the neighbour to get down the pot for me...", 'Cousas de mulleres', p. 180.

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...



Mance de la Cruz del.

D. Juan de la Cruz sculp.

Pastora.

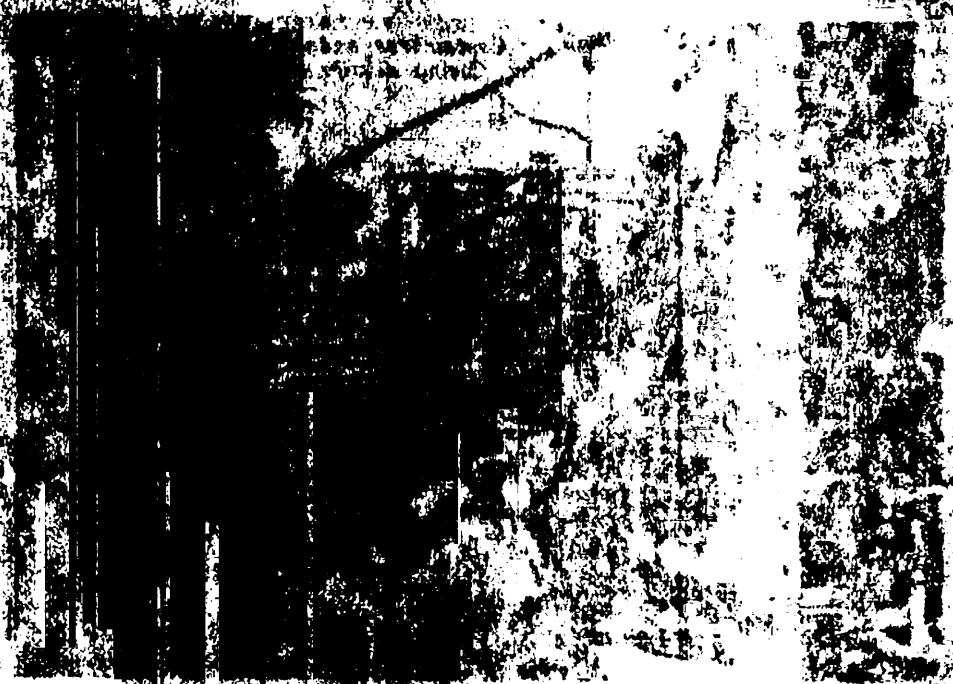
Paysonne des montagnes de Burgos.



magnum Dei corpus in idem. 22

magnum





has installed the kitchen in the orchard, and she is seeing to the water system and the animals at the same time. The dimensions of the table suggest that she is in charge of cooking for a group of people, probably agricultural workers. While it is difficult to determine whether she is doing housework, there is little doubt but that she is not being paid for what she is doing and that she won't be regarded as a worker by the census takers.

Interpretations of housework as women's work

As we have seen, in the "prehistory" of historical studies on work, the gender division of labour was taken for granted and the fact that women were responsible for doing housework and services to family members, as well as the fact that this work was unpaid, was not problematised. The fact that the historical identification of unpaid housework as women's work was not acknowledged as a problem by historians implied of course that it was regarded as a natural, rather than a social, fact.

When historians began to treat women's housework as something to be explained, the usual method of approaching it was to take men's wage work as the model, and then describe the differences. This difference was then attributed explanatory power so as to become the "reason" why women's work was different to men's. Differences emphasised have not always been the same, but they can usually be identified with some of the traditional ideas on the "woman problem".

As it has been recently put, until two decades ago, "le confinement des femmes dans la sphere domestique se trouvait expliqué en termes de biologie, de convenance psychologique ou de superstructure idéologique" ²³⁶.

I review here three of these explanations.

The first one is the old Marxist view of housework-as-non-productive work, a view that defines work by its market value, and hence women's work as

²³⁶ Jan Windebank, "Comment expliquer le rapport des femmes au foyer et à la famille: les débats français autour du travail domestique", p. 10.

houseworkers is defined as market-created.

The debate on the invisibility of women's work arose in the 70's.

It focused on advanced industrialized Western societies and the way in which in these societies, with a developed labour market, a large flow of goods and services remained outside the market, women producing them for no pay. Women doing housework were not regarded as workers and their work was not included in the national accounts.

The reference used for understanding the functioning of domestic/unpaid work was market/paid work. Using Marx's analysis of value, it was accepted that value was attached to work only when this was sold in the market and, accordingly, no value was attached to work which was for family consumption (i.e., not sold on the market). Because women happened to do housework, they were not paid, and regarded as non workers. Because men happened to work for the market, they were paid and regarded as workers.

Organization of work in 18th century societies suggests something different. While it is true that women did most of what today is understood as housework, they also worked very often for the market. On the other hand, in certain productive and property systems many peasant men (and women) had a very limited access to the labour market, either entering it for only limited periods of their lives, or some seasons each year. Women's earnings from domestic textile production and domestic service must have been basic for families with no access to the land, where the family members typically had opportunities for wage labour only two or three months a year.

Despite this, women who worked in agriculture, in domestic manufactures or in services, at their places or in urban centers reached only through migrating, were not defined as workers. Invisibility or "devaluation" of women's work and "valuation" of men's work cannot, then, be explained by the inside-outside-the-market characteristic of their work, because it existed before labour markets developed (and with them, the division between work outside/work inside the labour market). It is not the type of work of each sex which accounts for men being regarded as workers, and women being regarded as non workers.

2. A second interpretation of housework as not skilled and indiffererentiated explains housework by its "technical" characteristics. This interpretation is relevant here because it refers specifically to housework on the farm.

It focuses on the division of labour as the catalyst for the development of the work traditions that permitted workers to be identified with their specialization and to gain a social identity. Furthermore, a positive correlation between specialization and wages had also existed: the more specialized the worker, the more skilled he was considered, the more he was paid for his work.

Women's work, on the contrary, developed in a different way. Peasant women's work was a "continuum", a continuous succession of tasks. Some of these tasks could be defined as services for family members; others produced goods or services for the market; still others produced goods and services for the family's consumption.²³⁷

This "continuum" character of women's work, as opposed to the (supposedly) specialized, task-specific work done by men, would explain the difficulties in describing and recording women's work. The fact that women performed not one task, but many, prevented them from being seen as "specialized workers", that is, as "real workers". It was comprehensible for everybody, even for themselves, to define them as "wives", being a "wife" meaning the performance of a series of tasks.

If we try to understand the work organization of the three areas described in this chapter according to this hypothesis, we shall see that in fact, different types of workers coexisted within the 18th century organization of labour. Workers mentioned by the Cadaster were organized by sectors of activity (agriculture and cattle breeding, manufactures) and classified by ranks. These ranks followed the structure of the old guilds, which presupposed a hierarchy based on the command of technical skills needed to achieve a high standard in the production process. An apprentice was a beginner in the process of learning

²³⁷ McKinley Wright, "'I never did any fieldwork, but I milked an awful lot of cows!' Using Rural Women's Experience to Reconceptualize Models of Work".

the work, a journeyman knew (through experience) more about it than the apprentice but less than the master, who was the expert in the craft, knowing the secrets of the raw materials and the technique.

Studying women's and men's work in three 18th-century regions with different economic and social foundations makes possible the identification of some common features of women's work. Possibly the most remarkable of these features is that even when women did the type of work that is considered more as "real work" (i.e., waged, skilled, full-time, providing the basic or only regular income for their families), they were not defined as workers. In the very same social environment men who worked only some months a year, unskilled, and even unemployed, or retired, would be instead defined and recorded as workers.

3. The third approach can be represented by the "housework as devalued but valuable-work" approach of Segalen and others.

A very significant example of Segalen's method of interpreting housework in peasant societies is provided by her description of cooking and "narratives of the woman's place at table during meals." She presents a series of descriptions, referring to different regions, of the widespread peasant custom of women never sitting at table, but serving men during their meals, and then eating their own meals standing up. A traveller such as the brother of Victor Hugo, Abel, wrote in 1835 about the Sarthe: "The farmer's wife, called the mistress, and calling her husband 'master', never sits at the table with her men servants, however tired she might be. She cooks for them, serves them, and eats standing up, as do all the women and girls without exception." ²³⁸ In the Maconnais, "the women of the house never sit at table, even when strangers were invited. They maintained the attitude of servants and ate out of their bowls away from the family table, in a corner of the room near the fire, or even in the kitchen in houses wealthy enough to have a separate room dedicated to cooking..."

But Segalen refuses to believe it: "These texts tell us more about the folklorist's own ideology than they do about peasant behaviour." (p. 166) "What the folklorist sees as a sign of hierarchy is only the physical impossibility of the

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

women being able to eat, at the same time as the men, the meal which they also have to cook and serve. In the same way, on everyday occasions, the fact that meals had to be served hot and on time meant that the woman could not eat them until she had fed the workers coming in from the fields. (...)

If one chooses to see in this absence of the woman from the family table a symbol of her inferiority, is this not due to an ethnocentric approach? Nineteenth-century observers relegated to an inferior rank the tasks of preparing and giving meals: they employed the term 'serving', with its connotations of 'servant'; the rural woman is seen as a servant because she brings the plates to table. Now, the mother of the family is responsible for the meal: it is a task which requires her presence if it is to be carried out well. Rather than considering that she is an inferior because she does not sit down, does not the housewife see herself as fulfilling her task properly in not doing so, and see in that a source of pride, similar to a well-kept house and a fertile farmyard ²³⁹.

Segalen provides a good example of what was defined in the Introduction as voluntaristic 'women as agents' approach to domestic work. The reason why 'the task of preparing and giving meals' was relegated to an inferior rank was that nineteenth century observers 'choose to see it' in this way, despite the fact that wives felt them to be 'a source of pride'. One only has to invert the terms to see these tasks as very important, to replace '*serving* meals' by '*giving* meals', as Segalen does, and the situation changes. 19th century French peasant wives were no longer inferior to their husbands.

The problem of housework must be put in different terms. In order to interpret the historical and economic meaning of housework, its characterization or definition as *a series of tasks* is useless, because the same tasks were done in the market producing different effects for the workers who performed them. It is not the tasks that comprised housework that account for its specificity, but the fact that it was *unpaid* work. Why women did it? Why men were exempted from it? Why women still did it whenever they were also doing market work?.

The fact that housework was women's work strongly influenced the conditions under which women offered themselves as wage workers. It explains, for instance, why the pattern of female employment changed dramatically when they married, regardless of their skills or job experience. 19th century

²³⁹ Segalen, ob. cit., p. 162.

governmental reports on working conditions of domestic industries explained how women 'preferred' domestic manufactures over factory work, because this allowed them to earn wages while they cared for the house and family.

In 19th century Japan, for instance, domestic work of women on family farms accounted for 45 % of their total working hours. ²⁴⁰

These are some examples that can summarize current tendencies to explain why housework was women's work. I already explained in the Introduction the ideological roots of these types of interpretation. I would like now to compare them with some 18th century texts.

The change in the Cordobes law that prevented women from inheriting from their husbands.

Córdoba was part of the Castilian legal system. As outlined in chapter I this system presupposed the egalitarian partition of goods among female and male children. Yet a legal conflict arose in Córdoba in the 1780's which shows how a) the difference between the norm and the practice could be important, b) the link between inheritance rights and the organization of work, between the prospectives of individuals to become owners of goods and the work they decided to put into the family unit, and c) what housework was in a farm of 18th century Andalusia.

In 1784, a Commission was appointed in Córdoba to discuss a project of Casa de Misericordia. The Commission intended to solve the problem of Cordoba's poor by promoting work. One of its members, Don Blas Manuel de Codes, diputee of the Commony, explained in a representation to the Commission

That one of the main obstacles that Córdoba has had, has in the present, and will have in the future to achieve its happiness, is that Women do not have *gananciales* [marital property]. That women constitute half of humanity: and that their occupation is generally, or should be, manual work, which is the most useful and important: That the circumstance of not having the right to inherit marital property inhibits them

²⁴⁰ Osamu Saito, "A note on Women's working hours in peasant and non-peasant family economies: the case of pre-war Japan", p.149.

from work; which is most natural, for work is repugnant in itself, and only the hope of reward provides an incentive; so that lacking this hope, the lack of application to work, dissipation, and vice, follows naturally. ²⁴¹

As the aim of the deputy was to change the norm, it was important to trace back its origin and character. As the deputy affirms, the source could not be the Spanish legal system, which "on the contrary, orders that whatever Husband and Wife would gain during their Marriage, be divisible in half". He suggests that

"as this Town, and part of its Kingdom, was on the border with the Moors land for a long time, people who populated it were almost all 'of arms', and all their goods, inherited or acquired, regarded as military, and so were Women excluded from participation in them, which has continued, as thereby was regarded as law."

Once established as a traditional norm, not a law, its consequences were that only few families were conscious of its effects and able to avoid them ("some Fathers before now, eager to exempt their Daughters from such tyranny, took them outside the Kingdom for the Marriage ceremony; until some years ago, when they have started arranging that (their daughters) have the right to inherit marital property."

It was not before 1801 that the king finally issued a provision so that Cordobese women would be treated as women of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. The interesting thing, however, is that in the meantime, the rule was also challenged by private citizens. Their documents provide a revealing, often moving description of women's work and at the same time, of women's slave-like status.

In 1796, Juan Fernandez, farmer, explains that he had been married to María Gómez, from Cordoba, "to which marriage neither of the contracting parties brought goods of any value", for "at that time, the declarant had no property". From then, the couple had gone a long way:

"The Todopoderoso helping us with His help, and our constant effort, supported in every special way by the Economy and government of my spouse in the interior of my home, government of my Family, raising and education of the Children we

²⁴¹ The document is in AHN, Consejos, leg. 2.486, documents 1 and fol.

have procreated, have left me in total freedom to be able to devote myself, entirely free from those worries, to work outside Home, especially in the agriculture and dealing in cattle, at the beginning farming small plots, and then, with more means and faculties, Cortijos, and to raising cattle, I was not needed in my Home, in which I knew that my spouse, not only took care of the functions of her sex, but in use of her talent that she owes to her Criador, ran and still runs with all the management of the work in the interior part of the Home, keeping account with workers and other Servants, which has kept very precisely, receiving the fruits from the fields, selling them and giving them away, and dealing with their preservation while she was kept them in them, maintaining the correspondence pertaining to the contracts that the declarant signed for their wages, (...)

What the text shows is precisely that women's strong participation in production, in family affairs, even the direction of the farm, involvement in its management, can all coexist, and in fact coexisted, with non-existent rights to property, and total lack of social status. Upon the death of her husband, she is left with absolutely no property, no rights over the farm and properties she has earned over the years, "remaining in the said case without capital to maintain herself, in such a miserable condition because of the municipal law of the town, that deprives married women of their half of the marital property".

The reason that moves this husband, he declares, is "estimulado de mi conciencia y de mi conocim.to de que mi esposa ha influído más que Yo, o al menos igualm.te, en el adelantamiento de mi caudal."

I will argue that what defines the value attached by society to women's and men's work is the very same social relation from which both social groups emerge. And that this social relation can be best analyzed through the family, which is the institution which generated and reproduced social definitions of men's and women's places.

In the next chapter I will analyze the way in which 18th century peasant families generated a gendered supply of labour. And to what extent factors external to the family accounted for this supply of labour.

III. THE FORMATION OF A SUPPLY OF WAGE LABOUR

Chapter II has shown how waged forms of labour existed in 18th century Spanish peasant societies, in manufactures, agriculture and services, although its relative importance within the organization of labour of these societies varied. In the second half of the century, a very favourable historical conjuncture further encouraged the transformation of labour forms: on the one hand, 18th century reformist governants developed a series of policies intended to remove the traditional obstacles to 'modernization', among which anti-guild measures, aimed at encouraging the expansion of unregulated labour, stand out.

On the other hand, a dynamic economic environment created new opportunities for wage labour: colonial commerce fostered the growth of maritime towns, such as Barcelona, Cádiz, Bilbao and Seville. Urban growth fueled the expansion of internal markets, which in turn created a new demand for goods and services.

These changes in the nation's economic life implied a growing demand for labour and opened up new working possibilities for the population. There is abundant evidence in the following pages of men and women engaging in new activities, or transforming the traditional ones.

Yet the rise of a market for labour did not occur in a void. This chapter describes the basis of the organization of work in 18th century Spain, and analyzes the elements that shaped this emerging supply of labour. It does so from two basic assumptions: first, that the supply of wage labour developed not just as a mere response to the demand for it. The complexity of the culture, norms and values of peasant societies, as well as their physical and economic features, must be considered in order to understand the way in which they organized work. ²⁴²

²⁴² As showed by the growing evidence on how both peasant families and communities allocated their labour resources. In 17th century France, for instance, peasant communities took responsibility on the orphans' future, that could include their forced migration to urban centers, and their placement as apprentices or servants. Fontaine, "Solidarités familiales et logiques migratoires en pays de montagne à l'époque moderne", *Annales*, 6, 1990.

Second, contrary to the idea that individuals became wage workers as a result of choices made following the principle of self-interest, the supply of labour was to a large extent the product of structures of constraint. In other words, between the supply and demand for labour there were filters that determined the historical way in which wage labour developed.

The chapter discusses the extent to which one of these structures of constraint, gender, shaped the supply of wage labour, and the mechanisms through which this was achieved.

Two groups of mechanisms are identified: first, **mechanisms shaping the supply of labour within the family**. The family economy was the basis for the organization of labour when wage labour initiated its expansion in the 18th century. Two of the features of the family economy were highly influential in shaping the supply of wage labour: the *family organization of labour* and the *system of distribution of family resources*.

The family organization of labour is traditionally described as based on a division of labour between men and women, that is in turn understood as a division of tasks. This definition of work fails to reflect the social consequences of work, making exchangeable tasks done by individuals, as if they had an exchangeable social and economic position.

The materialist analysis of work *as a task done under a certain social relation* ,will be used here in order to explain the basis of the material differences between the different members of the peasant families. The internal 'family division of labour' is thus described not as the division of tasks between male and female members of families, but as the result of a certain social relation under which the tasks were performed.

I start by describing the divisions of tasks in each of the three areas studied. Then, in order to define the different elements of this social relation I analyze the families' system of internal redistribution of the income generated by all family members, who, as a consequence, enjoyed different levels of access to resources such as education. This differential access reproduced the internal hierarchy that was the basis of the family and, at the same time, became an important determinant of the supply of labour.

The formation of a gendered supply of labour was also determined by *elements external to the family*, including institutional factors such as State regulations, Catholic doctrine, common law, and “market” elements such as wage differentials. At least during the period studied here, the internal dynamic of families appears as extremely coherent with these ‘external’ instances.

A shift in the relative weight and importance of these elements can be traced during the 18th and 19th centuries. Norms and laws controlling access to the various sectors of waged activity, the period of access or the conditions of access, have been numerous throughout European history. However, they became a major political issue in the second half of the 18th century, when Enlightened governants replaced moralists as influential theoreticians and promoters of a model of working organization.

The resulting supply of labour was deeply gendered. Two of the main features of labour markets, wage levels and professional ladders, will be analyzed in order to show the extent of the gender hierarchy. I argue that this outcome, like other gendered features of 19th century labour markets, was functional to the maintenance of women as unpaid houseworkers. That is, the developments occurring in the labour markets can be only understood by looking at the family economy.

1. Forces shaping the supply of labour within the family

1. a. The family division of labour as a division of roles.

Adam Smith first emphasized the fundamental role played by the division of labour in making possible economic growth. For Smith the degree of division of labour of a society was not only a measure of its wealth, but of its civilization. Since then, the concept applies to a pattern of distribution of tasks among individuals that increases the efficiency of production and, as a consequence, productivity. This idea of “division of labour as division of tasks” has been imported into analyses of families’ internal organization of labour such as Becker’s theory of the family. A pattern of gender division of labour has been

described in proto-industrial domestic manufactures, and claimed to be a characteristic of preindustrial family economies, whether agricultural or industrial. It will be noted that this idea of division of labour leads almost by itself to the idea of complementarity.

After Smith, Marx developed a concept of work that underlined the particular social relations of production that differentiated workers and led him to distinguish *task* from *labour*. Whilst task is defined as the *technical* process by which something is transformed into something else, into a new product, labour, said Marx, is the *social* process from which the individual does that task.

This distinction is of a particular importance to understand the gender division of labour. In this chapter I use the concept of social relation to describe the different social places from which men and women worked.²⁴³

In all the three economies studied a gender division of labour existed. This division of labour was symbolically represented by a division of tasks, that were nevertheless different in each of the three places.

Three groups of tasks can be identified by their relation to the female and male workers of these three peasant societies: (a) tasks exclusively done by men, (b) tasks exclusively done by women, and (c) tasks indistinctly done by men or women.

As chapter II showed, the economy of Pasiego families was based on herding and trashumance between meadows during the year. Many Pasiego families were also involved in dairy production, as well as in peddling during seasons of lower labour demand. Running the farm was very labour-intensive; only intense work of all family members permitted the seasonal division of the group of cows. During these periods of high labour demand, division of tasks between male and female family members is almost nonexistent. Children's work was so important that the schooling system was adapted to the herding year.

We have seen Pasiego women, men and children occupied in coal

²⁴³ This materialist approach to the gender division of labour has been explained in C. Delphy, Close to Home, in particular the Introduction and ch. 5, "Housework or domestic work".

transportation to the nearby fundiciones of La Cavada, and groups of men and women as peddlars and contrabandists, travelling to France and then to Madrid, by foot, to sell their goods.

Some activities were done by women, such as dairying. But husbands replaced their wives in many of their activities during the long periods of absence to work as wet nurses in the city. According to the descriptions of contemporaries, in Northern Spain the gender division of labour concerned more the amount of work done by men and women than a division of tasks. Women are depicted as doing most of the work, even the hardest and dirtiest tasks. Hardship of women's work was interpreted by travellers as proof of the backwardness of the region. Novelist Pedro Antonio de Alarcón wrote in 1858, after a trip in a region near the Pas:

"The montañesa race finds itself subsumed in the most miserable state of abjection and ignorance. Just one feature will reveal this to you. Women (...) carry out here the hardest part of the work and toils. They plow, they sow, they harvest, they drive the cart, guard the cows, and suffer all the rigors of the weather. Thus, they appear ugly, dirty, ragged, with the basket on their backs and the baby in it, crouched over the earth, with no decoration in their dress or hair, while the men walk around proud and well-dressed, reddish and robust, occupied in fishing or in taking their animals to the fairs" 244.

In Almagro and Rute, on the contrary, there was barely one task indistinctly done by men and women. Trashumant livestock and trade were male activities, while lace making and domestic production of pork products were female activities. In the few activities in which both men and women participated, a strict line divided female and male tasks. This was the case of textile manufacturing, where weavers seem to have been generally men, while spinners were always women. 245

244 El Museo Universal, Madrid, October, 15, 1858.

245 This corresponded to a general pattern in textile manufactures. Gullickson, Spinners and weavers of Aufray. Spinning as women's work will be discussed more fully below.

1. a. 1. Historical interpretations of the gender division of tasks

What the literature on the gender division of labour usually describes is in fact, as was seen in the Introduction, a gender division of *tasks*. Most of the explanations provided to explain its existence fall into two groups: a physical and a spatial reason. Both ultimately refer to biology.

The "physical strength" approach is based upon the widespread assumption that men were stronger, from which is deduced that they did the tasks requiring greater physical strength, while women did the lighter tasks. Such biological distinctions have been particularly used to explain the gender division of agricultural labour, but also industrial and mining work.

These explanations often take the form of simple 'descriptions of facts'. Writing on the Calabrese agricultural wage workers, Petrusiewicz says:

La divisione sessuale e generazionale del lavoro era quella tradizionale della campagna: gli uomini svolgevano i lavori che richiedevano più sforzo muscolare (come la vangatura, la zappatura e la mietitura) o delle conoscenze più specializzate (come la rimondatura); le donne vendemmiavano, e raccoglievano le olive, il gelso e le ghiande; i bambini raccoglievano le olive, le arance e i bergamotti, le radici di liquerizia e il gelso e aiutavano nell' aja. ²⁴⁶

A second explanation stresses the fact that women tended to work at home, even when it was for the market, while men worked in workshops or factories. The domestic space would be the reason for devaluation of work, and hence the work of workers who happened to work at home became devalued. Women happened to work at home because they were responsible for childbirth and childrearing. Some authors of the proto-industrial theory have argued, as in indirect proof of this, that when men and women worked in the same place, they formed a "team", that is, an egalitarian family.

Rural manufacturing downplayed gender work roles in favor of a family "teamwork", although these families lived and worked in a patriarchal legal setting that enhanced men's position. The husband represented the family unit to the outside world: the small businesses typically appeared in his name in municipal registers,

²⁴⁶ Petrusiewicz, *Latifondo*, p. 149.

as did account books, and the joint family wage usually was payed directly to him. To the public world, then, the "team" had a head. But among these rural weavers in the Oberlausitz, roles were interchangeable and fluid. ²⁴⁷

For Qataert, rural manufacturing "represents a fascinating example of economic practices that include the sharing of work by men and women in a family setting (...) As income from handweaving continued to plummet, family members sought other jobs. There were more jobs available for men..." (p. 18). Although she had noted before (p. 12) that "several weaving schools (...) also were opened. Women explicitly were excluded from these programs", she does not analyze the possibility of an 'enforced' gender division of labour.

However, the history of guilds provides an excellent example of the contradiction of attempting to define the gender division of labour as based on an identification between women's work as housework and men's work as outdoors work. Guilds regulations proved that when the situation of mix existed, guildmen enforced a legislation that compelled women to work as second class workers because they were women. ²⁴⁸

Some of the problems posed by these arguments are the following:

1. The geographical pattern of the gender division of tasks varies widely. Women appear in some regions performing tasks that in other regions are defined as men's work. It is particularly variable in mountain regions, traditionally areas of male seasonal or temporary outmigration to the plains, where all work was done by women. Travellers showed their surprise for these women "doing men's work" using almost the same words in all European

²⁴⁷ Jean H. Quataert, "Teamwork in Saxon homeweaving families in the nineteenth century. A preliminary investigation into the issue of gender roles", p. 7.

²⁴⁸ "From its beginning, the guild system, created by towns to organize craft production, had coexisted uneasily with the household economy. Central European guilds had fought hard to separate their work from similar activity in the home and to establish distinctions between their professional output and household products. (...) Household production had become inextricably linked with women's work in the eyes of the threatened craftsmen. This association coincided with the removal of single women from independent participation in the guilds and their relegation, ideally, to service and household activities." Quataert, "The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648-1870", p. 1124.

countries. 249

2. Women performed "men's work" whenever men were not available, due to illness, death, outmigration, abandonment, or war. 250 Whenever women appear as never replacing men in such tasks, local ideas on honour appear as preventing them from doing so.

3. Some of the tasks included in housework, such as washing or carrying water, were extremely strength-demanding. There are no instances of men undertaking these tasks, even in cases of need, like pregnancies, etc. This means that family distribution of tasks did not follow physical strength, or did so only in a secondary way. Individuals' notions of which tasks were acceptable for women and men seem to have had a much more influential role.

4. Mechanization does not seem to have altered in any significant way the gender division of labour of peasant societies. When plowing was replaced by driving the tractor a revolution in the gender roles did not follow. Whilst physical strength was much praised and needed in preindustrial times, it was increasingly disregarded when mechanization spread. If an argument is made that stronger individuals concentrated on tasks demanding physical strength, such as carrying and loading, as a result of their physical ability, this obviously explains nothing of why men also concentrated on the lighter and higher-paid

249 A monk visiting Val d'Intelvi, near the lake of Como, in 1625, wrote: "qui si vede bene come le donne sono viraghi non solo perché sono generate da gl'huomini, ma perché fanno opere virili; loro comprano e vendono, reggono le case, vanno a' mercati, arano i campi, et li seminano, segano i prati, tagliano la legna, battono gl'arbori, et il grano, che loro mietono, e conducono con i carri a casa. Onde quando io passai di qua la primiera volta, et viddi queste valorose donne a far questi eserciti virili, per meraviglia *strinsi le labbra, et inarca i ciglia*. Et quando le viddi con i stimoli de bovi nelle mani, con le acette, e secure in spalla, et la falce che la pendevano dal lato, mi parve esser pervenuto fra le bellicose Amazoni. Perché, sì come quelle non volevano che gli huomini havessero vantaggio più di loro nelle armi, così queste non vogliono che i loro mariti, padri et fratelli, che per il mondo vanno con le faticose arti ad acquistar ricchezze, et il vitto, le superano nelle fatiche, et disaggi. Anzi elle l'avanzano, perché consumando loro il giorno nell'opere virili, come gl'huomini suoi, la notte invece di riposare, nelle opere femminili la dispensano." Quoted in R. Merzario, "Donne sole nelle valli e nelle montagne", p. 237.

250 As they had done in all previous wars, during World War I and II, women replaced men in all the tasks these performed before, that had been defined as men's work, such as the hardest factory work, the dirtiest tasks, etc. Utilized by suffragists as a prove of women's capacities, and acknowledged by politicians, this fact had a fundamental impact in forcing a change in women's political status in this century. For instances of peasant women performing "men's work" in the 19th century, Segalen, Love and power in peasant France, p. 107-108.

tasks.

5. And finally, even if a positive relation existed between all (or most) men and a higher capacity to perform heavy (or whatever other type of) work, why did this work specialization derive a superior position, including control of economic resources, properties, etc? Why did the superior social position not follow from other technical criteria such as precision, carefulness, concentration, or skill?

These arguments search for intrinsic characteristics of the tasks, implying that features of the tasks account for their association with men or women. Some tendencies in the ascription of tasks to men and women can be identified, but in a very loose way, and changing over time. In fact, what a historical analysis tells about the gender division of tasks is that it has changed over time and from one society to other. The meaning of the gender division of tasks does not lie, thus, in the task itself, as much as in the existence of the division of tasks.²⁵¹

Technical interpretations of the sexual division of labour fail, in fact, to provide the clues to understand the *social* division of labour: task has to be put in relation with the social relation under which the worker performed it.

Whilst the division of tasks between women and men cannot be taken as expressing the causes of the gender division of labour, it is functional to it in two ways: in the first place, it has a **symbolic function**. The fact that in some place men cut the grass with a certain tool, while women cut the grass with a different tool, that in one place men raised cows but not poultry, while somewhere else men went to the fairs to sell the cows, but women raised them, has little to do with cows, grass or clothes in themselves. By daily representing a difference, doing (different) things contributed to define different groups. In other words,

²⁵¹ Anthropological studies sustain this interpretation by clearly showing how the gender division of tasks exists everywhere, while its content changes. In rural society, from childhood "the feminine and the masculine domains have to be both separate and complementary in order for marriage to become necessary. The masculine and the feminine are defined in a series of specific practices and are constantly coming up against each other (...) a permanent confrontation, which occurs in the economic activities in which men and women each have their roles." Fine, Agnès, "A Consideration of the Trousseau: A Feminine Culture?", p.141, in M. Perrot and A. Paire (eds.), Writing Women's History, pp.118-145.

(preexisting) social difference was visualized. 252

The gender division of tasks has also a technical function. By doing different tasks, men and women developed different skills and different social habits, which in turn were transmitted to the next generations, creating two completely different work cultures, with different work languages, and traditions.

The comparison of the three cases studied here throws some light on the gender division of labour within the family and particularly on its function as a mechanism shaping the supply of labour.

The existence of completely separated work spheres implied and created mutual dependency between men and women. This has led some historians to interpret the sexual division of labour as evidence of the equally important role of men and women and, from this, to argue that men and women enjoyed equally important roles within the family and in society. 253

When travellers and scholars describe the Pasiego cutting of the grass, men are always pictured cutting the grass with women going behind them collecting the grass in piles in order to store it. They used different tools, so identified with female and male tasks that they became local symbols for maleness and femaleness. Complementarity is clear here, as it is in textile domestic manufactures. In fact, complementarity of the family members work was the basis itself of family production, be it agricultural or manufactures or services. But it did not mean equality.

In analyzing the regional patterns of the gender division of tasks, two tendencies emerge that can suggest an alternative explanation of the gender division of tasks that takes into account the different social places of the workers.

252 The research of Fabre-Vassas on the pig killing in France illustrates this point. Men and women participated in the domestic breeding of pigs, but during the breeding cycle and during the killing day, men and women "have roles that are exclusive to their sex". Even "in connection with the same economic production and with similar elements, the categories of masculine and feminine cover the activities of men and women", and are "constantly manipulated and redefined". Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *La Bête singulière: juifs et chrétiens autour du cochon*. Quoted in Fine, op. cit., p.142.

253 Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay*.

First, a relation seems to exist between *the resources needed to perform an activity* and its male or female character. Becoming an artisan, an independent labourer, demanded an investment of fixed capital in the form, for instance, of looms or machinery. These manufactures were always male, while women and children tended to concentrate in activities such as spinning, carding, or lace making.

This seems to have been the case in transportation, almost a female occupation when done on foot (Pasiego women buying clothes and silks in France and selling them in Madrid) and a completely male activity when it demanded the use of animals. It could have also been a factor in the process of masculinization of manufactures traditionally done by women, such as dairy, that became male when it required mechanization. The pattern of gender division of domestic manufactures could have had more to do, thus, with the different level of access required to both public and family resources. Family members with very limited access to family resources and savings tended to concentrate in occupations where such investments were not needed.

The second factor is *the resources obtained from performing an activity* and its male or female character. A relation existed between activities performed or not for the market and their male /female character. Most activities identified as "women's work" could be found in the market performed by men. And viceversa, all the activities regarded as "men's work" could be performed by women outside the market. While women never worked with the cattle in Almagro or Rute, they took care of them from a very early age in Pas.²⁵⁴

In peasant economies based on family farms, such as those in northern

²⁵⁴ This double regional pattern was present in the political discussion of late 19th century, after women began to demand political rights and access to education. When opponents linked women's lack of political rights to their non participation in hard work, Gallego writer Emilia Pardo Bazán explained that this was not the case in Northern regions: "In the greater portion of the Spanish territory, women help men in field work, because equality between the sexes, though denied by the Law and in the spheres not connected to work, is a fact before the misery of the farmer, the day labourer or the tenant. In my country, Galicia, one can see women, pregnant or breast feeding, digging the earth, harvesting wheat and corn, cutting grass for the oxes. Such hard tasks raise no protest from the deep theoreticians (...) who, when the slightest indication of widening women's rights in other spheres is made, claim (...) that women must not leave the Home, for their only mission is to accomplish the duties of mother and wife." Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española*, p. 69-70.

Spain, where most labour was unpaid, women and children were free to work as much as they could, and in whatever task. ²⁵⁵ On the contrary, in regions where working families had no access to the land, and the labour market was the main source of earnings, restrictions on women's work were abundant.

This would explain the almost identical pattern of only-female tasks in all regions. All the activities described in chapter II as housework were exclusively done by women. Yet there was nothing essentially female in laundry, cooking or raising poultry; only when these activities appear as unpaid, that is, performed outside the market, they are systematically done by women. But the same activities, when performed in the market for a wage, were done by men.

The gender division of labour is a fundamental feature of the family as a unit of work organization. It appears under very different, often contradictory, forms. It has to be understood in connection with, and never isolated from, the other features of the relationship between male and female members of the peasant family.

Segalen collects an abundance of ethnographic material (sayings, proverbs, and descriptions of late 19th century ethnographers and travellers) in order to answer the question 'Is the inevitable conclusion, then, that the authority lies in the hands of the men?' ²⁵⁶

Segalen lists an impressive series of proverbs advocating the convenience of using physical violence against women, and particularly the right of husbands to beat their wives ("Women are like chops, the more you beat them the tenderer they are", from Languedoc, etc), and then another series of proverbs depicting women as monsters ("A woman is a head without a brain, a snake, a devil in the house, but for all that, beautiful or hideous, everyone more or less

²⁵⁵ In Galicia, another northern region, tasks that were either female or male were fewer than the tasks indistinctly male or female. Male works were plowing and killing the pig, whilst female works were "amasar the bread, milking the cows, take care of the milk, the orchard and the gallinero, and housework". Tasks indistinctly done by both sexes: "cutting the grass (with scythe) and loading it, cleaning up the cuadrás, cutting, sowing and collecting corn, wheat, potatoes; feeding the animals; cutting wood (men do it with a electrical motosierra, and women with a small hacha)." Méndez, *'Cousas de mulleres'*, p. 160.

²⁵⁶ Segalen, *Love and Power in Peasant France*.

needs one", from Provence, etc.). Confronted with this evidence that she herself has gathered, affirms that

rural society (...) recognizes feminine power. In order to defend itself against it, it builds up a symbolic speech in which the woman is laden with every fault, is intolerable to men, and exercises a malign influence (...) Proverbs which share in this conception of the woman and reinforce it use a very aggressive form of speech towards the woman, *reflecting the mingled fear and respect in which she is held.* ²⁵⁷

In the following pages I propose an alternative definition of male dominance in peasant families that replaces criteria such as 'respect' or 'fear', by in an analysis of the *material* basis of these societies.

1. b. The internal distribution of resources.

An indirect result of the growing evidence on wage rates in preindustrial Europe is that it has definitely denied the traditional vision of families as depending on the husband-father's income.

There is first the fact that few workers were employed during the entire year, seasonality dominating agriculture and manufactures. There is also abundant evidence of wages too low to maintain not only the breadwinner's family, but the breadwinner himself.

Studies on the proto-industrial stage of the European economy first showed that cottage-industry producers were able to work for such low wages because these were not their only source of income, and because "income-pooling was a reality (...) earnings of a family were provided not only by different family members but also in different economic sectors" ²⁵⁸.

The fact that the family economy was based on income-pooling explains why negative consequences of basic features of pre-industrial labour, such as seasonality, could be avoided, or at least compensated for. Income-pooling served also to compensate temporary or permanent loss of one member's income.

Only an understanding of peasant families as a working group, pooling

²⁵⁷ Segalen, p. 159, my italics.

²⁵⁸ P. van de Eeckhout, "Wage Formation: Some More Problems", in P. Scholliers (ed.), *Real Wages in 19th and 20th Century Europe*, p. 45.

the earnings made by its members, permits us to understand the growth of peasant and urban populations under adverse conditions such as irregular labour demand, chronic underemployment, high unemployment rates and the absence of public systems of welfare. It was the reason why the poor, whether independent workers, farmers, artisans, or unemployed, survived in Europe, as O. Hufton has pointed out:

such an individual was the day labourer, the wage earner, or the small holder with a holding inadequate for the support of his family, or was the wife or child of such a person. Such an individual, if he was a family man, was crucially dependent even in normal times upon possibilities of employment for his wife and and children. His economy was a family economy, dependent upon the earning powers of each individual member for the support of the whole – for nowhere in the conditions of the ancien régime could a man expect to earn by the work of his hands more than sufficient to provide himself with food and shelter and possibly support a child. ²⁵⁹

Described in this way, income-pooling appears as a rational mechanism to prevent destitution in a time when public mechanisms of provision did not exist.

Yet a closer look at the family's internal mechanisms of distribution reveals important limits to income-pooling. Different status and power of family members expressed itself in access to and disposal of family resources. This occurred through two mechanisms. First, children and wives were expected to pool their full earnings, while husbands and male adolescents were allowed to keep part of their incomes for themselves. ²⁶⁰ This was socially justified because of the different 'needs' that family members were supposed to have. ²⁶¹

Second, husbands-fathers had both the legal ownership of their families'

²⁵⁹ O. Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France. 1750-1789, p. 18.

²⁶⁰ In most of Europe, girls were permitted to keep part of their earnings, generally made in the domestic service, when they started working on their trousseau, to pay for it. A. Fine, art. cit.

²⁶¹ Husbands' limited contribution of their earnings has been often reported in industrial environments. In 19th century Germany, "A woman's control over the household budget and her husband's alcohol consumption was far more difficult, however, if he kept his earnings secret. It was said that in Hamburg the dockworkers there were very unhappy about trade union plans to issue all their members with wage books. They were afraid that their wives would find the books and compare the money they took home with their actual earnings." Abrams, Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany, p. 78.

income, and the effective control of it. In fact, husbands collecting their wives' earnings and fathers collecting their children's is a frequent pattern in wage labour in manufactures as well as in agriculture. The opposite was not true, and instances of married women trying to enforce their husbands to contribute part of their earnings to the family needs were frequent.

1. b. 1. Income-pooling and its limits: a comparison of Santander male and female temporary migrants and their pattern of contribution to the family economy.

As income pooling and equal distribution of resources within the family is *taken for granted by historians*, there are very few studies or even references on how actually family income was internally distributed. I present here two cases, one from my own research on seaworkers of the Cadiz seaport, and then some references to family access to male wages relative to miners of the Almadén mines.

Husbands' desertion of their responsibilities as heads of households was easier as migrants, and in fact outmigration could lead to a family's abandonment. The study of the Company of dockworkers of the port of Cádiz, in the last decades of the 18th century and the first of the 19th, all of whose members came from the valleys around the Pas Mountains (after a privilege granted by the Crown to recruit only natives from the Mountains of Santander) suggests a very distinctive pattern of male and female contribution to the family economy. ²⁶²

To guarantee the fulfilment of their duties as heads of households, the Royal Company obliged dockworkers to return to their homelands every 3 years

²⁶² This comparison was developed in "Women and Men as temporary migrants in 18th century Spain", paper presented to the European Forum conference on The Historical Construction of Working Time, Florence, 1994.

and after retirement. ²⁶³ Although most dockworkers probably followed the rule, some members of the companies seem to have refused to return to their homes. According to the edict on retirement of May 8, 1807, "some Individuals of these Companies that obtained in them their retirement have abused of this grace, keeping themselves out of the Towns of their domiciles and separated from their families". They were asked to credit their permanence in their Countries "at the head of their families" or "they will be deprived forever of the said benefit".

It is unlikely, despite the legal obligation, and despite claims by dockworkers themselves to be heads of households and to have family responsibilities in order to get hired ²⁶⁴, that most of them actually maintained their families in Santander. In some cases, this was due to an inability to save, like Domingo de Montes, who after working for 11 years as a day labourer declared himself "in most need, unable to maintain his family, which obliges him to have his wife serving in a House, not only in the present times, but in time of peace...". ²⁶⁵ In other cases, the casue was an interruption of contact with the family.

The dossiers instructed by the Consulado "on demands, claims, and other matters related to the Companies of the Palanquinado", from 1790 to 1820 show cases of workers denounced for failing to send any money to their families and how wives tried to exert their rights over their husbands' salaries.

1. On September 29th, 1790, **Bernardo de la Peña** asked the authorities that his wife **Bárbara Gutiérrez de Celis** be obliged to leave Cadiz and to return to the Mountains to take care of their daughters. The wife had travelled to Cadiz to claim abandonment. She appears to have stayed for, on October of the same year,

²⁶³ By a Real Cédula of April, 6, 1783, the Supremo Consejo de las Yndias ordered the members of the Companies who were married in their countries to return to their families at least every three years. On May 8, 1807, a decree was published that "the Retired workers of the Companies of Palanquinado go to enjoy the benefits of their Retirement to their Domiciles, or in union to their Families".

²⁶⁴ For instance, in 1792, Manuel Huyán, who had been working as a day labourer for ten years", and affirms to have invested "all his little gains in Feeding his poor parents, that have no other shelter, Wife and Family".

²⁶⁵ June, 10, 1799.

an agreement was signed: the overseer would ensure that Bernardo would receive just one third of his salary, while the second third would be for his wife and the remaining third to be kept by D. Jose de Oviedo "so that by his hand the debts contracted up to last July begin to be repaid."

"Persuaded by the Prior", the highest authority of the Consulado, husband and wife agreed on putting aside a third part of Barbara's share "for the help of their daughters who are in the Mountains, until the said Barbara returns there, which she said she would do around May, whence she will take her third part entirely".

On August 11th, 1792, Bernardo de la Peña sent a memoir denouncing his wife and seeking the order granting her the third part to be annulled, because

"for my wife and my two single daughters that remained in the Mountain, to maintain themselves 100 silver ducados are enough, of which still something must be left, for she does not need to pay house, having land to cultivate according to the custom of the country, and cattle at her disposal, in which circumstances there is no reason why from my work I must be robbed any longer..."

A decree of August 17th, 1792, certifies that "the said Bernardo de la Peña remains from now obliged to help by his hand his wife with 1.200 reales a year, sending them to her by the transport drivers, half in the season of San Juan June 24th) and half in the season of San Miguel (September, 29th)" ²⁶⁶.

Despite the agreement, Bárbara issued from Santander an authorization to a legal representative in Cádiz to claim "before the person or persons in charge of the satisfaction and payment of that third part of utility that belongs to me, so that he perceives and collects it, at the times and occasions accustomed". On September 1792, Barbara's legal representative is denied the dossier of the case since "the authorization that he presents has been conferred by a married woman without competent licence".

2. On 1797, Antonio Morante, of Cádiz, solicited the interests of the retired Juan de Prío, his son-in-law, to fulfil the maintenance of his daughter:

266 Archivo de Indias, section Palanquinado, legajo 1779.

"for ten years he has under his responsibility a granddaughter named Ysabel de Prio, whom he has been maintaining and sustaining in the line of clothing and shoes to a decent level (...) and the said Ysabel de Prio has as her father the named Juan de Prio who was here in the Company of Workers of the Real Aduana, and five years ago he retired to the Mountain with the third part, where he is to the day, and when he left this town he was a widower and up to the present he has had in the said Mountain two marriages: and the said Antonio Morante his father-in-law having asked with the good reasons he gives for the maintenance of the said Ysabel, he never succeeded (...) he has written to him in all this time different letters which have even been handed in personally: and he has pretended himself to be deaf and mute before all of them, not having wanted to respond to any of them, being that the principal that still remains in the said Aduana belongs to the said Ysabel de Prio, for it was her mother's, may she rest in peace, her father Juan de Prio, having taken his half of the principal when he left for the Mountain..."

3. Josef Santiso, of Saja, is granted his pension on March, 16th, 1805, "with the precise condition that immediately he has to return to his country, in which he has to enjoy in union with his wife Rosa Sánchez the product of the third part that remains to him of the utilities of the entire position he has served; if he should not do so, or gives motive for new complaints from his wife, he will be deprived absolutely of the said third part, and he will be considered separated and excluded from the said Company..."

A complaint by his wife, Rosa Sanchez, is attached, in which she states that

"five years ago he left me in the said town destitute, with no property, and he has neither fulfilled the superior order to come and cohabit with his wife after three or four years. Nor has he even contributed some funds for my food, clothes, payment of the room (that I use of charity), royal and town charges, for I only survive (though very miserably) with the short produce of my hands, and for the charity of my neighbours, who (if I fall in some sickness) will have to assist me by piety or Justice. All of which if you doubt, you can get informed from Juan González Adán, de Antonio de Salzedá y Antonio González Camberas, my neighbours and from other compañeros."

Rosa Sánchez begs a third part of the husband's income or, in case he is still paying the principal, a third of the two parts he receives, to be given to one of his neighbours. A note at the side of the wife's complaint explains that, in fact, Santiso is still paying former debts, and "no doubting the truth of what his Wife Rosa Sánchez says in view of the evidence of the two Parish priests and because Santiso himself has acknowledged it as well as the said Casa Ferniza (...) from next week (...) 15 reales will be weekly discounted to the said Santiso and the said discount will be given to Juan González Adán, so that through his

conduct it arrives to the hands of the said Rosa Sánchez...”

4. On 1815, Manuel Sánchez, living in Cádiz and native of Serdio in “the Mountains”, denounced that his sister (another) **Rosa Sánchez**, married to **José del Valle**, who “although is retired, has secured the part that corresponds to him, lives in Seville, where also he works and gains.” He is acting on behalf of his sister, who on December, 22, 1814, wrote him a letter also included in the dossier: “nothing sends to me my husband nor does he retire to his house to maintain his family. I see myself obliged to authorize you...”. The resolution appears at the margin: “that all that exists in the day produced by the said third part, and all this third part will produce from now onwards, the mentioned official ensures that it will be forwarded to Rosa Sánchez, wife of the said Valle” ²⁶⁷.

In fact, Josef González del Valle had asked for his retirement 15 years before, on December 1800. It was granted on the condition that, “as soon as the roads to his homeland become traversible he has to do so, and subsist there and not in this one nor in other Towns around; if he does not, he must remain excluded from the Position, and this requirement he will bear in his Licence so that he cannot allege ignorance...”. On January, 24th, 1801, he was in Seville, from where he sent an authorization to his cousin to sign the agreement, since “for my little health” and “the absence of means” he was unable to travel to Cádiz. ²⁶⁸

More frequent seem to have been instances of dockworkers refusing to travel to their families every three years. They themselves often solicited to have their licence for temporary return cancelled, for different reasons: on 1804 eight of them succeeded in having their temporary licenses cancelled after alleging the epidemic in the Northern regions. ²⁶⁹ On 1807, **Juan González de los Ríos**, de Los

²⁶⁷ A. de Indias, Palanquinado, legajo 1782, folder year 1815.

²⁶⁸ A. de Indias, Palanquinado, legajo 1780, dossiers regarding retirements.

²⁶⁹ For they have no money to pay for the trip and “a Province that in the day only offers calamities, hunger and misery, and where its inhabitants only present sickness, nudity and all the qualities of a famine and contagious illness, those representing do not believe its mention be desirable to any rational, mostly when for the penury of goods, their habitation in such a Theatre

Tojos, 65, asked for the suspension of his temporary licence for "having some interests of consideration among some people who owe him, which he needs to receive without retiring from this ...".

Wives did see themselves as having a right over their husbands' earnings, calculated at about a third of their total earnings. This supposition was backed by the law and the State's institutions, to whom deserted wives or daughters complained in search of help. Although this right seems to have been difficult or impossible to enforce, some wives, with the help of the parish priests, seem to have succeeded in having the authorities intervene in their favour.

This flow of male migration can be compared with female outmigration from the same area as represented by Pasiego wet nurses. Their stay in Madrid finished, wet nurses returned to their lands and to their families. Almost in every case during about two centuries, they were married women who migrated as part of a family strategy to increase the family income, and invested the income saved on the family property.

The saving capacity of wet nurses was very high, amounting to almost the totality of their wages, since they had no free time to spend, and clothes, food and lodgings were provided by the family. So they returned with amounts of about 3.600 reales after a 2 years period of work. In fact, the mechanism not only worked with wives handing out their earnings to their husbands: wives's earnings were seen by the community as belonging to the husband, who was also seen as taking decisions on his wife's work. ²⁷⁰

Women's economic and social returns from migration were invested in the household: married women's migration was an important source of income

would only serve to increase the number of victims sacrificed to such penury..."

²⁷⁰ A case of insults taken before the local judge of Vega de Pas shows to which extent this was so. In 1873, "coming from the port of Bargas to go to Torrelavega in the company of Miguel Pelayo, Tomás Crespo, Manuela Pardo and Manuel Pellón, inhabitants of this town", Santiago Abascal, day worker, insulted Manuela Pardo. In representation of his wife (who lacked, as a married woman, juridical capacity), her husband denounced "that the aforesaid addressed strong words to his wife like dirty cow and harlot, and that 'her husband sold her for four quarters'". AMVP, box 1, Libro de Juicios de Conciliación Criminales de mi Cargo correspondientes al mes de Mayo de 1876.

for their husbands, as evidenced by the massive investment in milk cows made possible by Pasiego women's employment as wet-nurses in Madrid. Savings were also used to build a new house, pay for a son's education or to avoid the military service. And since most of the skills acquired through migration were related to domestic work or children, women's work as carers and housewives was reinforced. This investment of savings and skills was not a choice: married women were legally obliged to return to their husband's place of residence and did not have the right to spend the money themselves.

Married men's return to their family home, on the contrary, depended on their will, and was unlikely to take place if they had established a new family. In these cases, the original families were almost unavoidably pushed to poverty: while the absence of the husband left the wife the entire responsibility for the daily running of the family farm, her legal incapacity prevented her from doing it successfully, being either forbidden from or impeded in the selling and buying of cattle and land, attendance at cattle markets, taking decisions on the organization of family labour, etc. Instances of male relatives intervening in favour of children whose father never returned are common, since the legal defence of the property against neighbours could not be taken by the mother.

As these cases show, a very distinctive male/female pattern of **contribution to family earnings** existed. This means important limitations to the income-pooling pattern of family economy. In the following pages a distinctive pattern of **use of family earnings** by different members of families is described.

1. b. 2. Unequal access of family members to pooled resources

Studies on social stratification have developed different criteria to identify social differences. In contemporary capitalist societies, differences between social groups are regarded as being based on their different level of consumption, which in turn is considered to be a function of their income.

There are two problems with this assumption: first, differences are narrowly defined as economic differences, which means that the vast ensemble of norms and uses that both reflect and create privilege and hierarchy are not taken into account.

Second, families are seen as sharing levels of consumption, ignoring the possibility of intra-family differences.

Contrary to this vision, patterns of family expenditure are here seen as having a *material* meaning (the consumption of a good or service increases the 'value' of the family member: s/he is better qualified, better fed, healthier, etc.) and a *symbolic* meaning (the pattern of family spending indicates an existing different 'value' of some of its members).

The pattern of consumption includes the acquisition of the goods and services that define the individual's standard of living, as much as the acquisition of the goods and services that will be used in the future or/and will define the future social position of the individual. In this sense, families' expenditures on sons are in part an *expenditure* (a transfer of resources that benefits one member and not the rest), but also an *investment*. As we will see, historians have explained families' expenditure on sons as a rational behaviour, to the extent to which a good position of the son improved the social and material position of his parents in their older age.²⁷¹

The process of distribution of resources, or consumption, took place within the families. In other words, individuals had access to resources as members of families. Families redistributed the income generated by their members following principles that were not coincident with work done or with need, but with the status of the family members.

A close relationship between differential consumption and the formation of a labour force existed. Three types of family resources are here analyzed in order to show this relation:

1. resources unevenly distributed among the family members, so that they *reflect the hierarchical structure of the family*. Differential consumption of food and other goods, as well as services, was part of the family system of internal

²⁷¹ "the decision of giving instruction to the boys and not to the girls made sense for the family economy: an investment was made in that member of the family who had greater possibilities of obtaining benefits from a more ample education, the boy, who was the one who directed the family farm, had relation with the market or emigrated in search for a better job." C. E. Nuñez, *La fuente de la riqueza. Educación y desarrollo económico en la España contemporánea*, p. 249, my translation.

redistribution of earnings, that acted as a filter between workers and consumption, that is, access to their own earnings.

2. resources that gave individuals *a specific comparative advantage in the process of becoming wage workers*, such as education, improving the individuals' perspectives of upwards social mobility.

3. resources for the exclusive use/consumption of male members of the family, that became elements of a male culture and were, in turn, highly *functional to the development of the labour market*.

I will briefly review some evidence on the first of these types of resources, and then analyze more in detail the two other types.

Although studies on intra-family consumption are almost non-existent, Rafael Dobado's work on the mines of Almadén (Ciudad Real) provides some references to unequal access of family members to family resources. To compensate for the damaging effects of mining work (particularly intoxication for sulphur vapors), the mines paid salaries which were much higher than those paid in other sectors for an average of ten working days per month. The miners' purchasing power, higher than most other workers', attracted to Almadén a number of sellers, dealers, etc. who offered to sell credit. Describing the state's intervention to regulate the labour force, Dobado mentions different measures intended to regulate the miners' pattern of consumption, such as prohibitions for the sellers to establish themselves in the town, etc. Technicians and members of the state's organism in control of the mines often lamented the miners' tendency to excessive and inappropriate consumption. According to the director of the miners' hospital, author of a work on the mines of 1778:

their clothes are always superior to their estado and possibilities; they are always first in following the fashions; there are those who make their silk clothes to make noise, and shining with galones, this being not a proportionated adorno to their occupation, their salary, not their character; they go out to the plaza for provisions and having money they take the best; they regatean little; and suscite thousand questions on who will take the best article and who will take it first; In pay day they buy their clothes, even if they remain pennyless, merchants have always secure their selling, for miners dont mind about a real more or real less; is rare that who is not provided with a horse most of them not having with what to maintain it, nor need it." 272

272 Dobado, *El trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1750-1855*, vol. II, p. 557, fn. 352.

Miners spent important amounts on religious functions and religious confraternities: "They get a lot a masses celebrated (...) tend to be brothers of many confraternities, even if their contributions are unbearable to them, in order to have in their burials a decent company, with many candles of wax, estandartes and other symbols carried by fraternities". The same doctor mentions the miners' habitude for banquets, "in this way many divert the time free from their works (...) in the prejudice of their families, because while they entertain themselves in glotoneria, their homes lack things much needed for life". And insists, adresssing himself to the miner: "To what purpose serves leaving your family without food tomorrow for having today spent in the banquet the salary that so much you need?"

Dobado concludes that "a distribution of the rent within the family units favourable to male adults" existed.²⁷³ Indeed, with the exception of a mention to women spending also in clothes, all mentions to expenditures, such as membership in confraternities, horses, and banquets, were men's.

Although an important source of intra-family differential consumption were leisure activities (which required both the purchase of goods such as gunfires, horses, watches, etc., and the payment for services, such as prostitution), work, or work-related expenses, were fundamental. In occupations requiring an investment of capital by the worker (purchase or lending of machinery or means of transportation, or immobilised capital in form of deposits or guarantees), access to family financial resources determined the individuals' access to the labour market.

Consumption has been associated with women in contemporary Western societies. In the second half of the 18th century it became a fashion among governants and economists to criticize women's consumption, and their passion for foreign goods was regarded as one of the causes of commercial debt. Jovellanos made an exact analysis of the reasons why female consumption was basically different to male consumption:

²⁷³ *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 404.

Men, going out to the world, find in their destinies, even in their entertainments, always varied and active, the need the despal of the occasion to moderate the taste for ornate. But what can a young woman do, used from her childhood to estimate herself and stand out by her apparel and dress? What will she do when, entering the world, sees that the caring for these is all that her sex is occupied in, and men's cause of estimation or despal?.²⁷⁴

Money for education.

A positive relation between education and rates of productivity has been suggested in the last years. Although much debated, it is generally accepted that education has played an important role in economic 'modernization', not only through an increase in productivity rates, but also through changes in cultural patterns that led, in turn, to decreases in child mortality, etc.²⁷⁵

A strong sexual differential has been described by studies in the historical evolution of literacy.²⁷⁶ This sexual differential is usually explained as the result of the confluence of a late and insufficient supply of education for girls, and decisions made at the family level. In turn, the tendency of families to expend on education of male children and not, or much less, on the education of female children, is seen as economically rational, given the lack of a demand for female qualified labour. Also interesting is the argument that allocation of time between household and market was directly linked to family investments on human capital.

Three aspects of education will be explored here. Two of them concern the **demand of education**, that is, to the family decisions and expenses regarding education of children: first, to what extent patterns of family expenditure on the education of children indicated the unequal access of female and male children to family resources. Second, if this was the case, to what extent this unequal

²⁷⁴ "Diálogos sobre el trabajo del hombre y el origen del lujo", Obras de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, BAE, vol. LXXXVII, p. 147.

²⁷⁵ A recent summary of this debate in Núñez and Tortella (eds.), La maldición divina. Estudios sobre educación y crecimiento económico.

²⁷⁶ "the sexual differential seems, hence, too a relevant a variable to be ignored when literacy and economic development are put in relation." Núñez, ob. cit., p. 122. Current U.N. development policies for Third World countries are based on the assumption of this positive correlation.

access of female and male children to family resources was an element subsequently shaping the supply of labour. That is, to what extent it shaped the possibilities of men and women to become wage workers.

The third aspect concerns the **supply of education** and focuses on the extent to which unequal access of men and women to wage labour was also an outcome of the private and public institutions which supplied this service.

Evolution of male and female literacy in the three areas studied has been described using as a main source the question 32 of the Respuestas generales of the Catastro de Ensenada, which asked the towns to enumerate individuals earning annual salaries, among which there were teachers and preceptors.

For mid-19th century, the Dictionnary published by Madoz provides information on the number of schools existing in each town, whether they were financed with public funds, number of students, and sometimes content of the education.

This data have been completed with data on literacy and data on school attendance included in the 1877 census of Vega de Pas and the 1892 census of Rute.

Education in Montes de Pas.

No mention is made in the 1752 Cadaster to teachers or schools in any of the three Pasiego villages.²⁷⁷ An early reference to education in Pas is article 19 of the Municipal Regulations of San Pedro, from 1692:

"It is also ordained that the ordinary Judge of the said village and its town council pay particular attention and are obliged to [make sure] that there is a school in the said Village in the most convenient parts of it, for the teaching of children and the rehearsal of the Christian doctrine, and fail they to do so, any resident householder can complain against them..."²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁷ Although teachers existed in many villages of the region by mid-18th century. An analysis of schooling in Santander based in the Cadaster sees this absence as caused by the "relief tourmenté et au peuplement disséminé en villages le plus souvent minuscules; la taille de ces petites communautés montagnardes autant que la difficulté des communications suffit sans doute à expliquer une sous-scolarisation évidente (...) c'est le cas de la cuvette de la Liébana (...) et plus encore des Montes de Pas, qui ne comptent aucun maître pour plus de 400 feux." J. P. Amalric, "Un réseau d'enseignement élémentaire au XVIII^e siècle: les maîtres d'écoles dans les campagnes de Burgos et de Santander", De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne. XVI^e-XIX^e siècles, pp.9-27.

²⁷⁸ AHN, Consejos, legajo 7. 558.

In 1784 a Pasiego migrant to Mexico, Juan de Rebuelta Fernández Alonso, from San Roque de Riomiera, "householder and of the Trade in this Town of Santa Fé, Guanaxato", made a donation in his will of 4.000 pesos to establish an elementary school in San Roque, with the following conditions:

"first, the school has to move to three places of the said town, which will be the parish church of San Roque for the months of September, October, November and December, having freed the month of August because of the little or no attendance that may have of pupils, and following to the other neighbourhoods, it will be in one during January, February, and March, and part of April, and in the other May, June, and July, alternating in these, the year that would be in the place of Merilla or in La Concha, the following year will be for those three months in the other place (...) the teacher will be instructed in reading, writing, counting, Christian doctrine, elements of grammar, caligraphy, and methods of teaching..." 279.

Besides the interest in this indirect account of the moving pattern of Pasiego livelihood, and of the importance of Pasiego children's work for the family farms, the fact that this early initiative to fund a school in his native village comes from a successful merchant indicates that literacy and education were regarded in Pas as a means to enable improve the commercial activities that were so fundamental to the local economy.

Eighteenth century schools were for boys only. Schooling of female children was almost inexistent until 1816, when a royal decree was published "on the establishment of schools for the education of girls in the religious convents" 280.

In 1801, Ysidro Ruiz Carriedo Martínez, from San Pedro del Romeral, solicited to be granted title of elementary school teacher. 281 This must have been an individual initiative, not related to the establishment of a school in the town,

279 AHN, Clero, libro 11.584.

280 "R. D. sobre los establecimientos de escuelas de educación para las niñas en los conventos religiosos, aprobado por S. S.", on July, 8th, 1816. Fernando VII, concerned for the "education of the sex that has so much influx on the good and the bad of society", asked and obtained from the pope authorization for the establishment of schools for girls in female convents whose rule permitted the nuns to perform this activity. This new possibility remained however opened almost exclusively to urban girls.

281 AHN, Consejos, leg. 3686/20. He was examined in Medina de Pomar on February, 21, 1801.

because some years later, in 1818 Juan Ortiz Roldán, also from San Pedro del Romeral, asked the same title explaining that "the School and teaching were extremely useful and necessary in this town, for there is no one in its whole jurisdictional area, formed by different barrios, although of only one parish Church" ²⁸². According to Madoz, by mid 19th century there was a public elementary school in Vega de Pas.

The census roll of 1877, that included questions on the inhabitants' ability to read and write, permits us to describe the level of local education at that year. Table III. 1. shows the literate male and female population out of the total population, and the potentially schooled population, defined as the population under 16. ²⁸³

Table III. 1. Vega de Pas, 1877. Literacy and schooling.

	Literate population				Students			
	Men	%	Women	%	Male	%	Female	%
Casco	158	73,5	102	45,3	15	20,8	6	6,4
Corcus	33	53,2	12	19,3	0	0	0	0
Yera	34	48,6	5	9,1	4	11,4	2	9,1
Partillo	27	30,0	5	6,4	4	9,7	3	10,0
Rucabado	18	28,1	0	0	1	3,6	1	3,4
Pandillo	27	34,2	6	8,9	1	2,8	1	3,6
Candolías	40	46,0	13	12,3	4	10,8	5	12,5
Biaña	73	55,3	20	14,8	6	12,5	2	4,0
Gurueba	63	32,5	11	5,4	5	7,5	2	2,8
Guzparras	27	37,0	6	6,1	--	0	1	2,6
Total	500	46,9	180	16,5	40	9,7	23	5,4

²⁸² AHN, Consejos, leg. 3.365/ 12.

²⁸³ Although Nuñez defines children in scholar age as those between 6 and 13, no age limit has been put "below", because instances of children actually sent to school at 3 and even younger existed. Six absent students have been included. Nuñez, *La fuente de la riqueza*, p. 231.

Pasiego rates of literacy (46,9 for men and 16,5 for women) were lower than the provincial average literacy rates which, according to the census of 1860 were 64,1% for men and 26,5 % for women. ²⁸⁴ Women's rate was 7 points less distant from the regional rate than men's.

As regards students, in 1877 there were 36 male and 23 female students in La Vega, but only 31 and 22 respectively attended the local schools. There were probably two schools, one for boys and one for girls, for the census records two teachers, Jerónimo Ruiz, aged 33, from Salinas (Santander), who had arrived with his wife 10 months before, and Asunción Fernández Ríos, 30, from San Vicente de la Barquera (Santander), arrived to La Vega five years before, who in 1877 had married a Pasiego *propietario*.

The six absent students came all from the Casco of the town, five were male (aged 12, 14, 30, 13, 22, three of them in Madrid, one in Burgos, one in Santander and one in Villacarriedo, in the province of Santander). The only female student was 19 and was in Santander.

A surprising rate of illiteracy among students appears when data on students is crossed with data on literacy. This can be interpreted as a result of a particular use of the school by the families: children would be sent primarily to learn to read and write, and once this was more or less accomplished, they were probably taken out of school. This would also explains why many of the students have older siblings literate but no longer attending school.

But the fact that 91 % of the female students were illiterate (21 out of 23, including the 19 years old 'studying' in Santander) while only 42 % of the male students were (17 out 40), reveals that there was something more than a too short a period of schooling, probably the different content of male and female education.

²⁸⁴ Martínez Vara, introduction to J.M., Estado de las fábricas, comercio, industria y agricultura en las Montañas de Santander, p. 116.

Education in Campo de Calatrava

The schooling situation was different in Campo de Calatrava. According to the Cadaster of Ensenada (excluding Almagro and Almadén, for which there is no available data), in mid-18th century at least eight towns had one elementary teacher, two (Almodóvar and Granátula) had 2, while Daimiel had 7. In nine of these towns there were Grammar preceptors as well, in some cases the same schoolmasters, the region summing up a total of 26 male professors.

Some evidence suggests, however, that the quality of their teaching was far from good. Some years after the Cadaster, teachers with "public school" in Almagro were portrayed in this picturesque way by Vicente Mexía, born in Almagro, and a teacher himself:

"Benito García Gallego has a public elementary school and a public barber shop, in which he shaves, takes teeth out, bleeds, and is a esparto grass maker, for this has always been his first and legitimate faculty in this town (...) Manuel Fernández has a public school as well, in San Lázaro and in the same ermit, in the presence of the boys, he spends most of the day making cords, baskets, and other things, with which he has the sacristy occupied, and when he leaves this, (goes) to play cards, for which reason he is now held in the Royal prison of this town. Juan Luengo has public school, and this is a quiet man, but at the same time he sews, makes cloth, and draws, for he is a Tailor (...) also in past days Antonio del Olmo, maker of altar pieces, Barber and sacristan, had a school, and since each Teacher had fifteen or twenty boys, and the monthly wage for them is 2 reales in this region, and the one who writes three, they themselves left the school..."²⁸⁵.

This situation was probably common: in Valenzuela de Calatrava the Cadaster makers calculated the daily income of the local teacher as 1 real, and 2 more for his job as carretero.

At the end of the 18th century, elementary students were "very numerous", according to the Latin professor, who complained of delays in his payments, "as well as for the fact that, his Chair being the principal one, is paid less well than the elementary chair, because this one with the very great number of students the teacher has" ²⁸⁶.

Unfortunately, data on literacy is not included in Almagro 19th century

²⁸⁵ The document is from 1767. AHN, Consejos, legajo id., folios 33 vuelto y 34 recto.

²⁸⁶ AHN, Consejos, leg. folio 77 recto.

censuses. But informants of Madoz provided him with a good deal of information on the conditions of local schooling for his Dictionnary. Table III. 2. uses these data to show the situation of schooling in Campo de Calatrava in mid-19th century.

Table III. 2.Campo de Calatrava. Public and private investment in education,1856.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Aldea del rey	2	66	y\n	15	2	34	n		1,9
Almadén	2	?	y	?	3		y		2,9
Almagro	4	410			0				
Almodóvar *	1	170	y	13,2	0	0			
Argamasilla	1	70	y	20,4	1	33	n		2,1
Ballesteros	1	80	y		1	20	n		4
Bolaños	1	70	y		2	20	n		3,5
Cabezas rubias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Calzada	2	190	y	6,8	2	108	n		1,8
Cañada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Caracuel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Carrión	2	120	y	7,7	2	100	y	2,3	1,2
Corral	1	40	y	18,9	2	50	n	0	0,8
Daimiel	4	210	y	4,6	7-8	70	n		3
Granátula	1	140	y	9,6	3	60	n		2,3
Hinojosas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Mestanza	1	50	y	23,1	1	12	n		4,2
Moral	2	135	y\n	6,5	1	20	y	1,9	6,7
Pozuelo	1	70	y	10	2	30	n		2,3
Puertollano	1	45	y	7,8	1	20	n		2,2
Retamar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Torralba	1	160	y	?	2	100	n		1,6
Valenzuela	1	55	y	13,7	-	-	-		
Villamayor	1	22	y	16	-	-	-		
Total	30	2,103			33	677			
1= Male schools 2= Male students 3= Public funding? 4= % of total local expenditure 5= Female schools 6= Female students 7= Public funding? 8= % of total local expenditure 9= ratio female students to male students									

All villages but four in the area had both male and female schools by mid-19th century, the most striking exception being Almagro itself, where Madoz reported 3 primary schools and 1 more of medium education, but no female schools. Valenzuela, Villamayor and Almodóvar were other towns that had only male schools.

The table explores also the subsidizing of schooling in the area. Three types of subsidy have been described for 18th century European schooling, "each with its own character and impact on the nature and social meaning of instruction: individual or collective endowment; public local taxation; and tithes administered through the combined efforts of the local government and the church bureaucracy."²⁸⁷

In Campo de Calatrava, male education was generally subsidized by the town councils, with amounts ranging from 6,5 and 6,8 % to 23,1 or 20,4 % of the total local public expenditure, the average being 13 %. Even in the cases where there were more than one male school they were publicly funded. Exceptions were Aldea del rey and Moral, where one of the two existing male schools was privately funded. Private funding of male schools was also important in Almodóvar, where funds came from a donation made by a native from the town and canon at the cathedral of Orihuela.

Contrary to this pattern, female schools tended to be privately subsidized: only five were publicly funded, three of them in Almadén, with amounts of around 2 % of the town expenditure; the other 27 female schools of the region were financed by the families; for instance, in Daimiel the families of the 70 girls attending school payed 4 reales per month.

This different cost for the families could have contributed to explain the difference in the number of female to male students. Yet evidence suggests that the existence of schools and the cost of education for the families are as important to understand differences between male and female education

²⁸⁷ Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe. A Social History*, p. 22.

What made opportunities for education in Campo de Calatrava distinct from most of Spain was not, however, elementary education, but superior and medium education. A University had been founded in Almagro in 1553 by emperor Charles the Fifth, that functioned until 1824. The Jesuits, whose colleges were regarded as the highest-quality educative institutions in Spain, run a college until they were expelled in 1766.²⁸⁸ A public College was established after that year in the former building of the Jesuits school.²⁸⁹ Two chairs of Humanities were created as well, whose students payed 12 and 6 reales per day.

This supply was partially a response to the demand for education that existed in Almagro, with fathers pressurising the Council of Castile to provide better qualified professors. In 1780, a group of fathers complained before the Council about the situation of education in Almagro, lamenting that after the expulsion of the Company of Jesus, the king

created and founded in this town two Chairs of Humanities with the assignation of 12 and 6 reales per day to their respective professors, so that due to the said expulsion, this town would not suffer a decline in the teaching and education of its youth, in which the public interest is so implicated (...) the said Chairs are without the due use and exercise, one because of death (...) the other due to the many illness and the advanced age of Don Francisco Meléndez (...) the parents of the pupils listed in the teaching of the said professors, have taken them out of the classes (...) placing them with the professor recently established in this town, (...) funding him with the contribution of 10 reales per month in order to prevent the inconveniences caused to them and their sons, time having passed without the desired progress²⁹⁰.

As a result of this initiative, on April, 1780, the chair of Latin was announced, with a preceptor paid 400 ducados per year and an assistant paid 200,

288 They had "a free Chair of Grammar, to accomplish with the foundation of the said College by Don Sebastián and Doña Magadalena de Mena; sustained and founded afterwards generously with the particular end of studies by Captain Don Alonso Hernández Maldonado." AHN, Consejos, legajo 645, 2nd document.

289 Real provisión of October, 5, 1767, and order of September, 28, 1768.

290 AHN, Consejos, marzo 1780.

both provided with rooms.²⁹¹ In 1791, this Chair had 32 students, "the greatest number that that Royal Study has known since its creation".

When in those same years other candidates would attempt to become professors, the existing one opposed, on the basis that "In this Town one Professor of Grammar is enough, because of the small number of students, and the lack of interest in following University careers (...) everything this town asks for, that the Council establish a Chair of Grammar that provides elementary instruction, because it is a shame that due to poverty, many important families find themselves unable to read or write..."²⁹².

In 1801, according to the census of that year, there were 2 male teachers and 2 female teachers of *primeras letras* or elementary school in Almagro.

In 1846 Madoz reported a Latin chair with 30 students.

The situation of education in the area included Almadén where, besides two private Latin chairs, whose students payed around 16 rs. per month, existed since 1835 the first Escuela práctica de Minería of Spain, one of the main centers of technical education of Spain, with two chairs and a three-year program of studies. Students were 47 in 1844. The school expenses were covered by a 6.000 reales from the state's budget and prepared, according to Madoz, "good overseers for the mines". These students became directors of the main mines of Southern Spain.²⁹³

If differences in the supply of education and the financing of male and female schools are important, the content of education is what make female and male education two different worlds.

In Almadén there were three schools for girls, where they learned "the

291 The program of studies included daily assistance to class, except on holidays and Thursdays afternoons, "in Winter time from 8 in the morning to eleven; and in the afternoon, from 2 to five; And in Summer time, in the mornings from seven to thirty past nine; and in the afternoon, from three to thirty past five". AHN, Consejos, legajo id., first document.

292 AHN, Consejos, leg., fifth document (1791?), fl. 44.

293 A decree of July 14, 1777, established the teaching of geometría subterránea and minería and, in 1781 a building for the school, later described by Madoz as "the best building of the town second to the jail." In 1802 the King granted 12 students with 4.400 reales per year; 12 more were admitted without grant.

works proper of their sex, reading and Christian doctrine", and two for boys, in one of which they learned "reading, writing, religion, moral, arithmetic, Castilian grammar, history of Spain and geometry", and in the other "also religion, arithmetics and grammar".

Most of the female schools existing were in fact lace or sewing schools. Plates 16 and 17 show two of these schools, where girls were sent to learn lace making. The two pictures, published by the local newspaper Vida Manchega in 1916, were taken "in the town of Valenzuela, in the learning and production workshops of doña Síndima Molina and doña Agustina Donoso". The first shows some 20 girl apprentices and three adult women, possibly teachers. In the second picture, some 45 girls and 5 teachers appear.

Education in Rute

Rute's town Council informed in 1803 the government on the local situation of schooling. There were one elementary school, with 2 teachers and 124 male students, and two "separated schools for girls in which these are taught to Read and Write, and needlework", with 2 teachers and 87 girls, and one grammar school, with 2 professors and 31 students. There were 3 more students of Sciences, absents in Granada or other University town.²⁹⁴

Table III. 3. shows the population of schooling age in Rute, calculated using the figures provided by the 1803 report on children over 7 and under 14 (627 male children and 574 female children).

²⁹⁴ Testimonio de las Preguntas y respuestas a q.e se ha contestado en los dos Ynterrogatorios..., 1803. AMR, leg. 56-8.

♥ ♥ LOS ENCAJES MANCHEGOS ♥ ♥



En muchas poblaciones de la Mancha, se producen en gran cantidad preciosos encajes que gozan de fama universal, viéndose constantemente primorosas labores que reflejan el buen gusto de nuestras paisanas. Estas gráficas del pueblo de Valenzuela, tomadas en los talleres de aprendizaje y producción de doña Sordina Molina y doña Agustina Donoso, dan idea de la importantísima alición que se tiene á tan delicada labor.

LOS FORN, MENDOZA



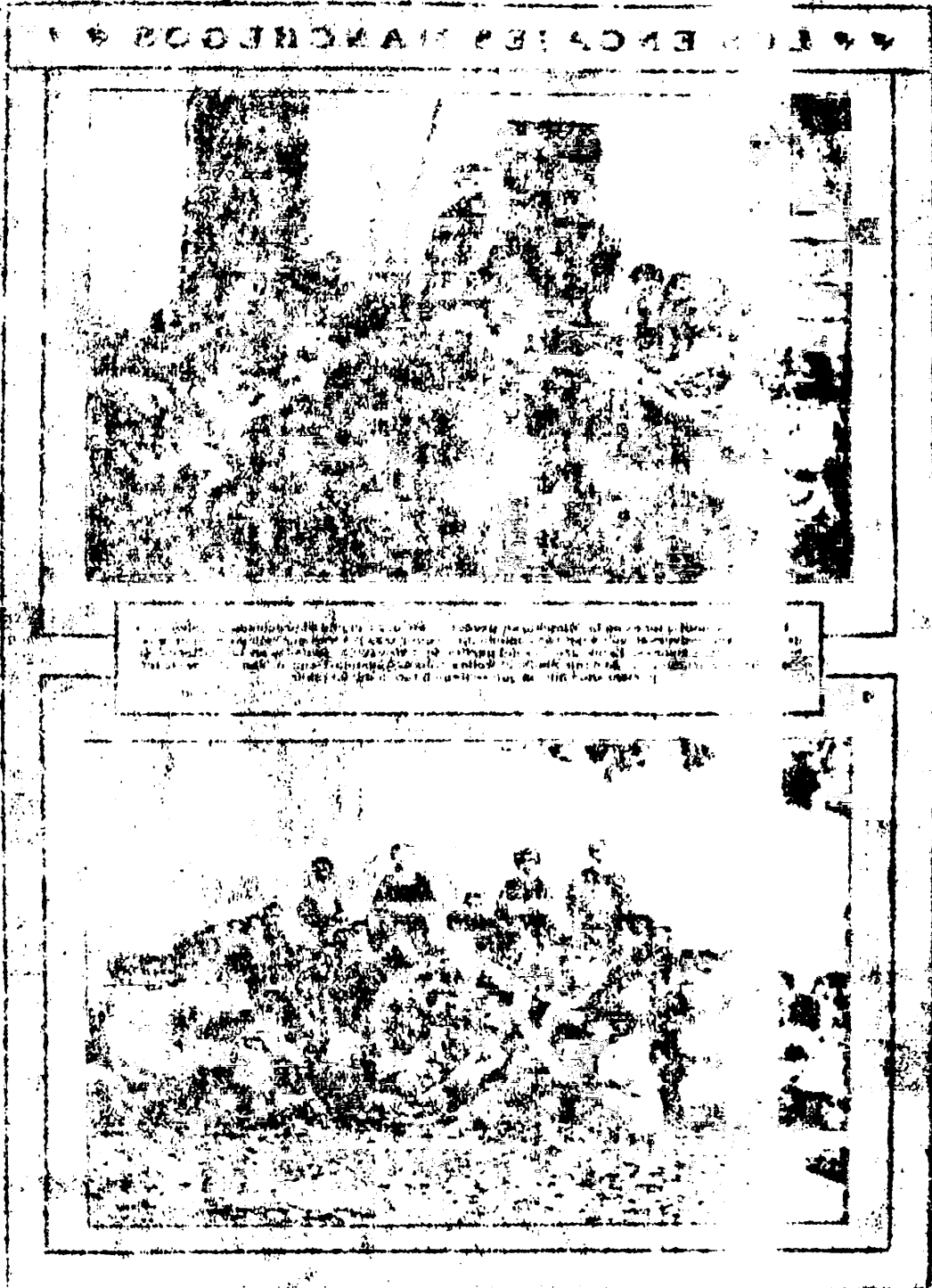


Table III. 3. Rute. Male and female schooling in 1803.

	M	(%)	F	(%)
elementary school	124	19,8	--	
sewing school	--		87	15,2
grammar school	34	5,4	--	
Total	158	25,2	87	15,2

In 1820 the situation had changed little:

"The two elementary schools in this town are in the best state; as their Teachers teach the boys with the greatest zeal to write, read and count. The two teachers for girls in the same school teach their disciples with the same zeal to read, embroider, knit and sew" ²⁹⁵.

The same report mentions another school in the convent of San Francisco de Asis, and one in Zambra, where however education was said to be "deplorable, by fault of the Teachers."

According to Madoz, around 1845 there were

two schools for boys, one of them public, occupying a magnificent space in the old cemetery and is performed by a qualified exclaustered, attending it from 150 to 200 boys, and another of the old system, with other teacher, also titled, which will have from 60 to 70 boys: the first financed with municipal funds, and the second by the parents of the students; two other for girls.

The census of 1892 provides data on literacy, making it thus possible to evaluate its evolution during the century.

Table III. 4. shows data on the inhabitants' ability to read and write and the number of students, as provided by the census roll of 1892.

²⁹⁵ Correspondencia de oficio del Ayuntamiento constitucional, 1820. AMR, leg. 56-19.

Table III. 4. Literacy in Rute, 1892

	Population		Literate population			
	Men	Women	Male %		Female %	
Rute	3.601	3.508	723		118	
Burbunera	161	173	17		0	
Viudera y Pamplinar	56	475	8		0	
Hoz-Vadillo	53	53	6		0	
Isla Mata-Río Anzur	41	41	6		0	
Zambra	282	286	38		0	
Portugalejo	83	74	11		0	
Cipreses-Nacimiento	116	110	14		0	
Cañada de Zambra	54	47	5		0	
Zumacar-Cerrillo	55	45	2		0	
Cortijuelos-Campullas	107	112	15		0	
Arroyo Tijeras y Muriela	49	29	3		0	
Animas-Fuente de las cañas	58	48	1		0	
Vívoras-Cívico	38	30	6		0	
Ballesteras-Río Anzur	34	27	5		0	
Llanos de D. Juan	94	95	12		1	
Cañada del Marqués	9	7	1		0	
Molares-Granadilla	74	75	3		0	
Gallombilla y Cerrata	54	39	6		0	
Total	5.019	4.846	882	17,6	119	2,5

Two reasons could explain the very high sexual differential in literacy rates of Rute. First, opportunity costs. Although Nuñez affirms that, given the highly seasonal demand for agricultural labour, opportunity costs of child labour was not a serious obstacle to schooling in late 19th century, she ignores the different character of the work done by boys and girls in peasant families. In most of them, girls were in charge of childcare and housework, either alone, when their mothers were out to work, or as helpers to their mothers when these were at home. In any case, theirs was not a seasonal activity.

Second, the absence of a local demand for qualified female labour. As Nuñez writes: "the decision to give instruction to male children, and not to

female children, made sense for the family economy: an investment was made in those members of the family who had higher a probability of profiting from a more ample education, the male child, who was the one who directed the family farm, related to the market, or outmigrated in search for a better job” 296.

This could help to explain the sexual differential, but does not account for a sexual differential in literacy rates *also in families where children did no work*. The fact that middle class daughters were never schooled even if their families could afford it and they did no fieldwork shows that access to education was neither a direct function of family resources nor opportunity costs.

A last question is whether a regional pattern of male/female rates of literacy existed and which were its causes. It has been argued that the sexual differential was higher in Northern Spain, where male literacy was higher, than in Southern Spain, where both male and female rates were very low. 297 The reason would lie in the different pattern of land holding, Northern farms being more dependant upon regular contacts with the market and, as a consequence, ability to read, write and count having for Northern (male) peasants a higher value than for day labourers.

Table III. 5. shows the literacy rates of Vega de Pas in 1877 and Rute in 1892, as compared with the literacy rates of their respective regions.

----- Table III. 5. Local and regional literacy rates. -----				
	1877		1892	
	M	F	M	F
Castilla la Vieja	77	29		
Vega de Pas	46,9	16,5		
Andalucía oriental (1887)			31	16
Rute			17,6	2,5

296 Nuñez, *La fuente de la riqueza*, p. 249.

297 Nuñez, *Ibidem*, p. 284.

These figures corroborate the idea of the regional pattern of literacy rates, with the sexual differential in Pas appearing as less marked than the region's tendency, probably because of the traditional participation of Pasiego women in temporary outmigration to cities.

In conclusion, patterns of family expenditure on children's education prove that in fact an unequal access of male and female children to family resources existed. Families paid for the education of their male children but not for their female children. This is clear in the more expensive medium and superior education, but is equally evident in elementary education. As Nuñez points out, comparing the public and private schooling systems, "in one as well as the other girls were the ones who attended school without paying fees with a greater frequency, which indicates that when schooling implied direct expenses for the families, these were more ready to finance the education of their male children" ²⁹⁸.

Furthermore, the education of sons was often paid at the cost of a reduction in the daughters' capacity to gain access to their own resources, even less than their legal quota. When in 1804 Jovellanos asked from prison his sister to solve some of the family problems regarding wills and inheritances, she answered from the convent where she lived:

As far as I am concerned, the whole of the will has been executed, unless it is understood as a misunderstanding to say that he has met the dowries of his sisters. Our good father offered 2.000 ducados to each of them, and only 1.500 were given to Doña Juana Jacinta, and 19.000 reales to Doña Catalina; but they all gave a letter of payment, convinced that at our good father's death a censo had to be taken for over 13.000 ducados with royal permission over the one already existing of over 6.000 to compensate *the debts originated in the expenses of your career, that is, yours and of the three brothers*, and there being no free goods at home but the 10.300 ducados to aggregate to the mayorazgo, not enough to the capital, the successor was not obliged to fulfil the 2.000 ducados, of which the sisters convinced, they gave authentic letter of payment, as I said ²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁸ Nuñez, *Ibidem*, p. 249.

²⁹⁹ Letter from Sor Josefa de San Juan to her brother Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, August, 27th, 1804. In *Obras de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, IV, p.259.

This document shows the extent to which non egalitarian practices often overrode the egalitarian norm regarding inheritance. Since education of male children was a fundamental investment for middle class families, hoping to achieve upward social mobility through it, family resources were mobilized to this end, including the sisters' legal quotas, and loans were taken upon the families' properties. To pay for the careers of four brothers, such as was the case of the Jovellanos family, the sisters renounced part of all of their dowries, given nevertheless letters of payment, as if they had been given their shares. Education, particularly superior education, that was most costly, but at the same time perceived as the only means for the most provincial hidalgos to make a career, implied an important transfer of resources from the daughters and other female members of the families to the brothers and male members.

The second question, that is, whether unequal access to education affected men's and women's possibilities as workers, is rhetorical, once seen how one of the very objectives of the 18th century reform of education was to educate men and women to efficiently perform different roles, that is, women as housekeepers or domestic servants. The development of a social ladder based on professional opportunities is analyzed below, in the discussion on the gendered patterns of social mobility.

The different content of male and female education was a general pattern throughout Europe. Education was intended to provide individuals with skills that allowed them to fulfil the functions that corresponded to them according to their social position, that is to their gender and class. ³⁰⁰

In Spain the content of female education was sanctioned by the royal order of April, 1816, that regulated primary education. Whilst education of boys

³⁰⁰ "In many girls schools, reading struction was supplemented by manual skills like sewing and needlework rather than the less useful skill of writing. For example, the French historian J. Perrel found that in South Central France, there were many regions with more girls than boys schools. But the popularity of schools for girls seems to have been their instruction in religion and needlework, especially lace making", Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe*, p. 28. The evolution of female education in France, and the role of both the catholic Church and the State on it, in F. Mayeur, *L'éducation des filles en France au XIXe siècle*.

included "Castilian grammar, ortography and arithmetic", girls would be taught needlework, although the girls's school teacher would teach them "to read, and even to write if any of the girls would like to". During the 19th century, reading and writing were progressively incorporated into the public regulation of girls' education. But again, important differences existed between norm and practice. In 1852, a women's magazine of Madrid revealed that

a year ago, the excelentísimo señor don José de Zaragoza visiting the schools of this court, found one that had no tables; asking where the girls wrote, the (female) school teacher answered that nowhere, for it was something they did not need, being more harming than useful. 301

Plate 18 shows an advertisement appeared in the local Manchego newspaper in 1916, a period when educational centers and institutions were flourishing and the need of women to learn something was widely accepted. The advertisement refers to the opening of the new course, to take place in Ciudad Real. The segregation of the courses is taken for granted, and different hours have been scheduled only in the three courses that could be taken by both men and women, French, Castilian Grammar and Geography and History. The rest of the courses were clearly gender identified: women's courses were solfeo and piano, and then a series of sewing and embroidery techniques, clearly addressed for women who would then made a living out of this: hat making, flower making, machine embroidery, dress confection.

Courses for men included technical drawing, French, esperanto, arithmetic, book accountant techniques, musical instruments, tailor instruction and military. Segregation was further indicated by the fact that women's courses were taught by five women proffessors (three of them married and two unmarried), while men's courses were given by 14 men. Class hours also differed: most courses for women were between 5 and 8, whilst men's courses started at 8 pm or 9 pm until 10 or 11.

The completely different content of the education given in boys' and girls'

301 Quoted in Geraldine M. Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1974)*, p. 15.

CENTRO REGIONAL MANCHEGO

CUADRO de asignaturas, profesores, días y horas en que tienen lugar las clases.

PROFESORES	ASIGNATURAS	HORAS	DIAS DE CLASE
D. ^a Julia Bravo	Solfeo	7 a 8	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes.
	Piano	8 a 9	" " "
	Frances (señoritas)	" " "	" " "
D. ^a Palmira Sanz	Labores	6 a 8	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
	Flores	" " "	" " "
	Bordado a máquina	" " "	" " "
Srita. Carmen Avete	Lencería	5 a 6	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
	Corte y confección de vestidos	6 a 7	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
Srita. Francisca Castilla y Gómez	Confección de sombreros	7 a 8	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
	Gramática Castellana (señoritas)	9 a 10	" " "
D. ^a Josefa Cubas	Geografía e Historia (señoritas)	" " "	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
	Dibujo geométrico lineal	8 a 9	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
D. Arturo González	Idem industrial	" " "	" " "
	Idem Arquitectónico	" " "	" " "
	Idem Mueblaje	" " "	" " "
	Idem de Adorno	" " "	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
	Idem de Figura	" " "	" " "
	Paisaje	" " "	" " "
D. Sabino F. Álvarez	Acuarela	" " "	" " "
	Frances (varones)	9 a 10	" " "
D. Salvador Mujica	Esperanto	7 a 8	" " "
	Caligrafía	9 a 10	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
D. Isidro Díaz	Taquigrafía	" " "	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
	Mecanografía	" " "	" " "
D. Rafael Pujades	Aritmética elemental	10 a 11	" " "
	Cálculos mercantiles	9 a 10	" " "
	Geometría	8 a 9	" " "
D. Carlos Madrigal	Teneduría de libros	8 a 9	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
D. Antonio Michelena	Gramática Castellana (varones)	8 a 9	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
D. Francisco Ruiz Morote	Geografía e Historia (varones)	9 a 10	" " "
D. Joaquín Bielsa	Guitarra	9 a 10	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
D. Luis Álvarez	Bandurria	10 a 11	" " "
	Laut	" " "	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
D. Manuel Moreno y D. Anastasio Yanes	Declamación	10 a 11	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes
	Corte sastrería	10 a 11	Martes, Jueves y Sábados
D. Benito Nieto	Instrucción Militar	9 a 10	Lunes, Miércoles y Viernes

- 1.º El curso dará principio el día 1.º de Octubre y terminará el día 11 de Mayo.
 - 2.º La inscripción de matrícula estará abierta en la Secretaría del Centro todos los días de seis a ocho de la noche.
 - 3.º Todos los socios tienen derecho a matricularse en cualquiera de las clases establecidas, como también sus hijos y demás alumnos presentados por un socio, previo el pago de la matrícula.
 - 4.º Para poder matricularse no es requisito indispensable ser manchego.
- El Director de estudios, *Filiberto Morales* - El Secretario de estudios, *Arturo González* - V.º B.º El Presidente, *Tomas Romero*

PRECIO DE CADA MATRÍCULA. 5 PESETAS CURSO.

...the ... by ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

would be taught
em "to read" and
century, reading
ulation of ...
m and ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

schools seriously questions the usefulness and possibility of a comparison of male and female schools.

Differential consumption associated with leisure activities.

In peasant societies, leisure was estricly was regulated by the peasant community, and critized when it was not enjoyed at the "right" moment, or by the "right" person. It was a fundamental aspect of what was socially defined as the good wife (and, to a less extent, the good husband) by the Church and social theoreticians. Plate 19 shows one of the many images printed as propaganda of this model of good wife in the 18th century. The woman is blind, deaf and mute, as the old Christian tradition, reviewed below, desired. She is guided by a sheep, "sweetness", and a dog, "fidelity". A "plan de economía", with which she will organize her husband's home, is in the pocket of her apron. Despised and rejected, the symbols of consumption ("dances", "tickets for the opera", "love letters", "coquetería", hats and silks) lye at her foot.

Two aspects of leisure are relevant to the analysis of the formation of the supply of labour: first, the fact that leisure was related to the allocation of resources within the family. During the 18th century leisure became increasingly associated with activities involving the expenditure of money. In fact, most of the differential consumption between family members was generated by leisure activities. The different access of family members to leisure activities meant differential "need" for money.

Second, the fact that leisure activities involved the use of public spaces. In peasant societies, access to public spaces was strictly organized by gender. This access was both regulated by the cultural practice and enforced by norms and by-laws. In the 18th century, when production was increasingly taken from the domestic workshops to the factories, traditional gender segregation of public spaces gave male workers a comparative advantage in the process of becoming wage workers. In other words, it played a fundamental role in shaping the supply of labour.

In the following pages, the two most traditional leisure activities of

schools seriously... the usefulness and possibility of a comparison of
male and female schools.

The literature on consumption associated with leisure activities
in recent societies, leisure was seriously was regulated by the passage
of time, and noted when it was not enjoyed in the "right" manner. In
person, it was a fundamental aspect of what was socially defined as
the good wife (and, to a less extent, the good husband) of the 19th and early
20th centuries. Plate 19 shows one of the many images printed to propagate the
ideal of good wife in the 18th century. The woman is shown, neat and tidy,
as the old Christian tradition, reviewed below, desired. She is guided by a sheep,
"fidelity," and "fidelity." A plan of domesticity, with which she will
oversee her husband's home, is in the pocket of her apron. Designed and
revised, the symphony of consumption ("leisure" for the upper, "house"
leisure, "conquest" (arts and skills) for the lower.
Two aspects of leisure are relevant to the history of the formation of the
ideology of labor, that the last that leisure was related to the allocation of
resources within the family. During the 18th century, the literature increasingly
associated with a leisure involving the expenditure of money, in fact, most of
the historical comparison between family members was generated by leisure
expenditures. The different uses of family members to leisure activities meant
different "uses" of money.
Second, the fact that leisure activities involved the use of public spaces. In
public spaces, as to public spaces was strictly regulated by gender. This
gender was both defined by the cultural practices and enforced by laws and by-
laws. In the 18th century, when production was increasingly taken from the
domestic workshops to the factories, the ideal gender was a gender of public
leisure. Male workers a comparative advantage in the process of becoming
workers. In other words, it played a fundamental role in shaping the supply
of labor.

In the following pages, the two most important leisure activities of

Caricatura Universal.



*La Mujer como hay Sports,
ó el Modelo de las Esposas.*



peasant societies, gambling and drinking, are analyzed.

Gambling

Spanish local archives are abundant with references and denounces of gambling in the second half of the 18th century. What these documents suggest is not that a new immoral activity existed, but that a new class of people was now engaged in a passtime traditionally reserved for the rich.

Although denouncers (usually parish priests and local officials) claimed to be alarmed by the disastrous consequences of gambling for the gamblers' families (which included losses of money fundamental for the family's economies, the subsequent falling heavily into debt and selling of the few goods owned by the family), the real issue behind these criticisms concerned the fact that gambling denied the basis of the traditional ideas on 'social place'.³⁰²

Through gambling, individuals from the lower classes showed that they wanted to make more money than was appropriate for them, and that they were ready to do so through ways other than hard work.

Gambling spread among the lower classes of the cities, but also in the small rural towns. It appears to have developed as an almost exclusively male activity, which makes sense considering the very limited access of women to money. In fact, male groups traditionally identified with gambling were those with a higher access to money: students who received money from their distant families, and dealers (especially cattle dealers) and traders who earned important sums in the markets.³⁰³

Here I will focus on what this new practice meant for rural families, both in terms of a new pattern of consumption of family resources and of a new

³⁰² For instance, the parish priest of Villafranca del Bierzo, in León, asked in the 1780's the minister Floridablanca to prohibit the male young of the town "que jueguen el de envite y continuo Juego de la banca dia y noche, unos en menoscabo de sus casas, otros en perjuicio de sus aprovechaminetos sin asistir a los estudios", in an attempt to "put a remedy to the tantos clamores of madres de Jovenes (...) sin mas destino que la ociosidad (...) por mañana y tarde y noche..." AHN, Consejos, leg. 3. 165, doc. 27. Don Juan Francisco Quijano al conde de Floridablanca.

³⁰³ The same groups that appear identified as clients of prostitutes in cities. In Madrid, prostitution and gambling concentrated in the taverns near the inns where muleteers spend the night. Sarasúa, *Criados, nodrizas y amos*, p. 49 and fol.

cultural practice that reinforced the gender segregation of public spaces.

Instances of gambling can be found in all the three areas studied.

In Vega de Pas, on May 3, 1870, José Calleja denounced Manuel González and asked that this one repay a debt of 4.520 reales. The offender claimed that this amount was given to him

the greatest part raised through a betting game in his house with two colleagues and the owner of the house. Each one took 500 reales and gave it to the said owner and then they lent the same amount until the sum I had been asked for was reached (...) and that finding themselves in that tavern for 18 hours, the first night in the company of many people, and everyone having left for home when it was morning, only three remained until 11 or 12, at which point (he) said "Boys, let's go home", to which the owner of the house replied "Don't go, I've sent out some cards asking people to come here to play", and immediately a fellow gambler came in, and then another ³⁰⁴.

The very dispersed pattern of settlement of Vega de Pas meant that gambling probably always took place in some of the few houses of the casco, either the tavern or a private house, such as the one mentioned in the case above.

In Almagro, a citizen of Ciudad Real denounced on January 1805 before the Consejo de Castilla the popularity of gambling:

not only among decent people, more abandonment is also observed among the workers and field day labourers. There are some houses where (...) indistinctly and shamelessly very young sons of good families, day labourers, Justice officials (who by reason of their office must zeal), some Priests and manual workers play, losing the small salary that their work produces, the day they work, for distracted with the game, and disturbed by the continuous bad nights, an increasing number of idle men can be noticed, who keep their families in the unhappiest situation ³⁰⁵.

The count of Montarco, governor of the Consejo de Castilla, transmitted that same month to the Corregidor of Ciudad Real "the continuous complaints and claims of many families of that Town, plunged into misery and destitution because of the liberty of habits caused by the abandonment and indifference with

³⁰⁴ AMV de Pas, Caja 1. Juicios de conciliación.

³⁰⁵ AHN, Consejos, legajo 17.798, "Consejo de Castilla. Juegos prohibidos. Ciudad Real, Almagro y Talavera de la Reina, 1805-1806".

which the Reales Orders on prohibition of games are observed. Permitted in houses, such as the one of Antonio Velazquez, tanner, who has abandoned his work, maintaining himself through a place for billiard playing, that is only a pretext for the free entrance and exit of the Players, for which, and for the perversion of many sons of good families, he has been repeatedly denounced before the judge (...) the house of Agustin Pardo, who being a brick layer abandoned the work to devote himself to important robberies, Antonio Pastrana, Shoemaker, Rafael Sánchez Pajarero, Tailor, and Gaspar Dorado, Shepherd."

When seized, they all denied gambling in their declarations, and only admitted to playing cards as a friends' entertainment, "being all of them Poor and making a salary of 6 or 8 reales, that cannot provide the necessary for the maintenance of their respective households", according to the declaration of Antonio Pastrana, 35, shoe-maker.

Among the reports on gambling in Almagro that followed this case, there is one from the vicar of Ciudad Real and Campo de Calatrava, of February, 1805, which specifically refers to Almagro:

In Almagro exists in the day, and has been the case at other times, a certain Joaquín García, with no other exercise or job than gambling, he treats there with principal people, spends, and succeeds wonderfully, and I have been assured that the Wife and the children who are still in Talavera de la Reina [province of Toledo], are in the greatest unhappiness (...) this perverse man and his Companions have figured out a lottery of all classes of Jewelry and clothes, and involved for this utterly criminal manner all types of people.

The Intendent communicated to the Gobernador of Almagro, Carlos d'Angeville, that "forbidden games are played shamelessly there", and orders him to oblige Joaquín García to leave the town and join his family in Talavera. The Governor replies with copies of all the documents related to the prosecution of gambling: already in 1796 a "Royal general pardon conceded at that time to some players of forbidden games (...) notices and complaints on the excesses of forbidden games that were noticed (...) lately there are innumerable occasions when along with the Mayor (...) I have been present at the registry of different houses of forbidden games..."

On May, 1805, Joaquín García was in the nearby Daimiel, where he is denounced. On June of that year he is again denounced for keeping "in Almagro a game (..) accepted all kind of clothes and jewelry, that were raffled among the players in order to aid by this means those who have no cash (...) a relative of the said García (...) currently permits him his residence in Almagro, and participates in many of his drinking and gambling bouts, as effectively he did on a country day that 15 days ago they had in the estate of Torroba, where in front of him they gambled shamelessly, as he had done during his short exile in Daimiel."

In Rute, "a deeply rooted habit was playing at cards (...) if the hand was false, and not from the royal monopoly, the player could be fined, either in a private home or in the tavern or in the inn. These public places were the object of special vigilance for they were center of frequent fights because of the confluence in them of foreigners, cards, wine, spirits and arms" 306.

Gambling appears very often related to taverns. It also seems to have spread around stock fairs, attended by cattle breeders with important sums of cash to buy cattle. It became a major element of male identity, for it implied the free disposition of money. References to gamblers taking their families' goods, like clothes or jewelry, are frequent. It is the fact that gambling caused the ruin of many families which explains the intervention of the authorities.

For the purposes of the analysis here developed here, gambling is relevant as (a) a mechanism that shows both men's access to family resources, and important limits to their contribution to income-pooling 307, and (b), a social activity strongly identified with men, performed in all-male spaces, such as taverns.

The role of these public places as fundamental elements of a male culture, and its relation with the emerging labour markets is explored in the following pages.

306 García Jiménez, *Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna*, p. 177.

307 "The allocation of household resources in favour of the husband, which was central to the broader sexual division of leisure, helps to explain why certain forms of gambling such as street gaming and betting on whippet and pigeon races were exclusively male pastimes." Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty. Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1930*, p. 164.

Drinking

The pattern of expenditure of workers was utilized by contemporaries to justify the convenience of low wages. ³⁰⁸

Evidence on this "leisure-preference" of industrial workers has led economists and historians, on the other hand, to argue against standard market theory, that assumes the opposite, that is, that an increase in the demand for labour --i. e., in real wages-, will result in an increase in the supply of labour, through an increase in the workers' desire to expand their consumption.

On the one hand, historical evidence shows that capitalists continued to behave according to "market rules", raising wages whenever they needed labour and this was scarce. On the other hand, it seems that at least initial gains after a rise in wages were "taken out more in leisure and drink but then being absorbed back into wider purchasing and employment patterns. There is certainly a correlation between short-term wage movements and beer consumption" ³⁰⁹.

The extent to which male expenditure on drinking "disputes between dockers and their wives over allocation of money for drink at the expense of the housekeeping (...) this suggests that gender divisions were perhaps more significant than occupational status" ³¹⁰.

Sociability patterns were highly gendered, with most public places and opportunities for consumption reserved for men. Besides taverns and tobacco, prostitution and gambling were other sources of expenses for working men.

The family redistributed the earnings of family members according to its

³⁰⁸ "The gain would be taken out in time rather than in the extra consumption of purchased commodities and services, or by extra leisure supplemented by forms of expending which do not traditionally feature as desirable constituents of a rising standard of living --particularly drink. In nineteenth-century Britain drinking was joined by another great industry of the poor (...) betting on dogs and horses". Mathias, "Wages and Leisure", in Domanda e consumi. Livelli e strutture (nei secoli XIII-XVIII), p. 13.

³⁰⁹ Mathias, "Wages and Leisure", p. 19.

³¹⁰ Davies, op. cit., p. 37.

own principles. These were founded not upon need or work done, but maintenance of a power relation. This explains why families with completely different standards of living could coexist under the same laws, types of production, inheritance rules and demographic patterns. With a husband working as a dockworker, of two similar families one could live an easy life while the other depend on charity. Two wet nurses working for the same period for the same wages could see their family patrimony increase or disappear.

1. c. Functionality of gender spatial segregation for the formation of the labour market

Confronted by demands to curb their spending, some men justified drinking by claiming that information concerning job vacancies was informally circulated in pubs vaults ³¹¹.

Taverns were more than the setting for male expenditures on leisure activities. In the last years they have come to be seen as central to European workers' culture and sociability. ³¹² Because workers' leisure and, in particular, consumption of alcohol, was severely critized by the higher classes and moralists, taverns have been described as places where the identity of working classes developed ³¹³.

Other functions have also been underlined, such as networking. Social

³¹¹ Davies, op. cit., p. 35.

³¹² "elles ne fonctionnent pas uniquement comme des établissements de vente au détail de boissons alcoolisées. De même qu'en Angleterre, ce sont des lieux où l'on se divertit et où l'on se rencontre. Les livres de sentences et les comptes rendus de procès montrent à quel point elles ont une fonction de divertissement et canalisent la culture artisanale." Magnusson, "Proto industrialisation, culture et tavernes en Suède (1800-1850)", p. 29.

³¹³ Hobsbawm, The Making of the English Working Class. "Cette culture identificatrice permet aux ouvriers d'exprimer un mode de vie et de définir leur place dans la société hiérarchisée, fondée sur le statut, les droits et les devoirs liés à certains rangs, grâce à une série précise de pratiques culturelles." Magnusson, art. cit., p.28.

drinking and attendance at taverns were, for instance, an essential piece of the network of social relations in which the Verlag System, with its credit and productive systems, was based.³¹⁴

Taverns developed as places to drink alcoholic beverages, but in small towns such as those studied here they were at the same time inns for travellers. This gave taverns an especial significance, as the only places where inhabitants of peasant communities could meet new people.

Taverns played a fundamental role in the local economic and social life of 18th and 19th centuries peasant Spain. There were taverns in almost every town, and in each of the towns studied here. As with most public places, they were only for men.³¹⁵

Using the case of taverns, I argue that access to public spaces was first, highly segregated by sex, and second, fundamental to participation in local networks, and work opportunities. I will analyze the evidence on leisure patterns for each of the three areas studied in order to see if these two arguments can be applied to them.

For the Pas area, anthropologist Tax Freeman provided an interesting account of 20th century leisure patterns that can be used as a starting point to describe them one hundred years before. She described leisure in Pas as

principally associated with stock fairs rather than with any other collective events of social life (...) visiting is casual (...) it is usually young men rather than young women who travel through barrio space exclusively for social ends; young women travel freely (and also extensively) in the context of work but stay home to receive social visits from young men (...) The pursuit of leisure by adult women is generally confined to visiting in the cabañas or to such activities as laundering or going shopping

³¹⁴ "le Verlag-System se caractérise par une grande complexité des liaisons sociales. Marchands, maitres et ouvriers sont liés par un réseau de relations fondées sur la précarité du système économique (...) les relations de crédit, les pratiques de paiement différé, de retribution en nature (...) ce réseau complexe de relations sociales est la clé de la culture artisanale qui prévaut à l'époque à l'intérieur du Verlag-System, et qui se manifeste, entre autres, par des pratiques comme les lundis chomés, les escroqueries, la consommation d'alcool en société ou la fréquentation des tavernes.", Magnusson, art. cit., p.21.

³¹⁵ A variation of this norm of spacial segregation existed in places where women could eventually entered these places. Then a especial only-for-men room or floor was created, usually at the interior part, to play cards, etc. In England, where working women would sometimes entered the pubs, "pub vaults were for men only". Davies, ob. cit., p. 42.

together. The demands of caring for children and cattle and the preparation of meals and other households tasks typically occupy women's time and discourage extensive socializing. While men may perform all the households' tasks, cook, and care for both livestock and children, standard household management, child-care, and often much caring for cattle as well are frequently left by married men to their wives while they themselves gather to play cards. Men socialize in large groups in the taverns of the Casco (...) Their leisure hours typically begin after the noon meal, and perhaps after a brief siesta, sometime after one or two in the afternoon. Most return home in the late afternoon, around milking time, and barrio families eat their supper and retire early, especially in areas without electricity. Many men enjoy their afternoon leisure even when they must walk to the Casco from considerable distances. (...) Within the larger praderas there may be enough friends to gather, but the tendency is for men to prefer to gather in public places away from the cabañas. (...) Whether men spent more of their leisure time in the barrios in an era when they had less spending money is hard to say, for the Casco has been important as a place of enjoyment for as long as anyone can remember. Many Casco tavern keepers in the past maintained bowling greens on their premises to attract patrons. Bowling (skittles) was a male sport associated with tavern visits ³¹⁶.

According to the Catastro there were three taverns in La Vega and one in each of the other Pasiego towns. Taverns were a municipal property and leased periodically (usually every year, as all other public services and rights). Town councils were interested in their existence because they collected good taxes from them, but also because they attracted travellers. Article 12 of the municipal regulations of San Pedro del Romeral, from 1692, regulated the tavern and inn ("taverna y casa de mesón") and obliged the tavern keeper to "assist the tavern without absence from the rise of day to 12 pm for the provision of locals, travellers and passers by, and for each day that he missed he must be fined 200 ducados..." ³¹⁷

In Rute, "these public places [taverns] were the object of special vigilance for they were the center of frequent fights because of the confluence in them of foreigners, cards, wine, spirits and arms. (...) Already in 1552 it was acknowledged that 'the disorder that exists in the town's inn, that many of its inhabitants drink wine and become so drunken they blaspheme..." ³¹⁸.

In Almagro there were 10 taverns in 1849, and 19 in 1868, as well as a

³¹⁶ Tax Freeman, Pasiegos: Spaniards in No Man's Land, p. 112-113.

³¹⁷ AHN, Consejos, leg. 7.558.

³¹⁸ García Jiménez, Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna, p.177.

billiards place. ³¹⁹

Taverns were not only leisure places. In villages and small towns, taverns and coffee houses were usually the only places where newspapers arrived. They would be read in loud voice by some literate man, and in this way they played an important role in the spread of new ideas and information. In the towns they were centers for distribution of political propaganda, discussion of local problems and, particularly, economic affairs.

Neither were they the only space of male socialization. In fact, their importance is greater in Northern Spain, where climate conditions made sheltered spaces much sought after. In Southern Spain they played a less important role, gatherings being preferably outdoors. Yet the same function of male space as a labour market can be described in this case. Two of the areas studied here, Rute and Campo de Calatrava, can be identified with this pattern.

Anthropologists have defined the *plaza* as the central space of local sociability in Castile and Southern Spain. In fact, in all Mediterranean cultures plazas seem to have occupied the central role in the definition of local life. During most of the day, plazas were (and still are) occupied by numerous groups of people who chat, exchange news and comment on local matters. This is favoured by the climate, the urban configuration of Mediterranean and Southern towns, with large concentrations of houses distant from one another, that is, with larger and concentrated populations, and by the labour organization, with a long part of the year with no demand for labour.

Again, anthropological studies prove to be useful in suggesting the social and economic functions of such spaces and the particular role that highly gendered leisure patterns have had in the local organization of work.

Anthropologist López Casero carried out in the 1960's a study on the role of the plaza in Campo de Criptana, a town very near Almagro, also part of La Mancha. ³²⁰

³¹⁹ Sánchez, "Siglo XIX: los sectores mercantiles e industriales", in Historia de Almagro, p. 491.

³²⁰ López Casero, Francisco, "La Plaza", Etnica, 4, 1972: 89-133.

According to López Casero, three functions were performed by the Plaza: center of entertainment, center of criticism, and center of information. The informative function centered around two major themes: "questions related to the profession, and events that have happened in the town." As recently as the 1960's, the agricultural population used the Plaza as the main center of information, together with bars and stores. On matters related to agriculture, "the Plaza constitutes a very valuable tool, for it is the site where a larger amount of experiences and interesting news for agricultural work and businesses are collected and contrasted" (p.123).

But of all the functions of the Manchego Plaza its role as a labour market is most interesting for our analysis. This function

is influenced, in an important way, by the high proportion of day labourers (...) Those looking for work, as well as those looking for workers, come to the Plaza, especially on Sunday morning and also on working days at night. In the mornings of working days it is also possible to see some unemployed workers, waiting for a job offer. Also, when a stable worker is going to change employer, which occurs traditionally on September 29, San Miguel day, the Plaza constitutes the main source of information for a new contract. The labour market acquires a special plasticity during the grape harvest season, when a considerable amount of people from other towns remain in the Plaza until they find a job. (p.123).

In fact, work opportunities and work-related questions are present at the Plaza to the extent to which every question of the local social and economic life is present. For its function

extends to the keeping of the lands, livestock, wine, agricultural tools, and others. Land and cattle dealers have their main workfield in the Plaza, spending a great part of the day in it, or in the bars. In the main hours of gathering, it is also possible to find those persons who, for their profession, may obtain clients from dealing with people there, such as representatives of agricultural machinery, insurance agents, etc. The Plaza offers also an excellent occasion to negotiate a whole range of other deals amongst farmers, such as the temporary letting of machinery or agricultural tools, arrendamientos, realization of common works, etc. An open air market existed until recently.

People gathered in the Plaza "play an outstanding role, particularly if they also frequent the casino, as opinion shapers of community problems (the price of the grape, municipal management, public services, unemployment, etc.) and in the exercise of social control through critique (...). According to an old informant,

before the Civil war (1936-1939), the problem of unemployment was solved in this way:

In cases of strong unemployment, 10 or 12 workers gathered at the Plaza, discussed the question, and decided to go to one of the *casas grandes*, where they talked to the administrator, so that this one contacted with other administrators and moved them to a common action. Often, this led to a meeting in the town council, where the situation was publicly discussed by those interested, and if necessary, measures to help were taken. Most of the times, these consisted of distributing proportionally the unemployed people among the *casas grandes*. (p.124).

Gatherings in the Plaza were the visual expression of the town's community. As another informant described it: "Talking to this and that person is the main aim of those who go to the Plaza. You go to the 'meeting' of the town people".

As one of the most important objects of local life, work was discussed and decided within the Plaza, which was itself the local labour market.

Occupation of the public space gave working men a sense of power, identifying them with members of a class. Groups of male day workers gathered at the Plaza were seen as highly powerful in their dealings with landowners, who, accordingly, tried to abolish this custom and replace it by individual agreements made at the workers' home. A report of 1786 on Vilafranca del Penedés, capital of one of the important areas of Catalan viticulture, proposed that "the practice of the day workers to go out in the morning to the Plaza for hiring purposes, be abolished (...) day workers engage in conversation with each other, taking time to accept the offers made by the Landowners, haggling over the landowners' offers and through these means obliging them to offer them the wage they had sought all along" ³²¹.

The Plaza, a central space of socialization and power and the town's labour market, was exclusively male:

³²¹ Quoted in Garrabou, R., and Tello, E., "Salario como coste, salario como ingreso: el precio de los jornales agrícolas en la Cataluña contemporánea (1727-1930)", p. 19. According to these authors, the report proposed as an alternative "that landowners agreed on the daily salaries the night before, house by house and on an individual basis".

Only men go to gather in the Plaza in the more authentic meaning of the word. Some people, particularly of the non-agricultural group, mentioned that they used to go with their wives as well, but they meant exclusively on Sundays, the Plaza not being then the main reason, but the bars and clubs. Women seen in the Plaza are either crossing it, or they are going to the Church, or they are young people who talk for a while before or after crossing it. In the case of women, the Plaza performs the function of a street more (...) in the women's sociability, the game developed around shopping in the morning, in which they usually spend some hours, is what stands out ³²².

Men's control of public spaces, both indoors, such as the taverns, and outdoors, such as the gatherings at the Plaza, pose the question of the functionality of women's exclusion from these places. Women's seclusion, at least as the norm, in peasant societies, has been interpreted traditionally as a question of male honour, defined as the control of own's own women's (wife and daughters) sexual relations in order to assure legitimate descendance. The link between women's seclusion and male honour in Mediterranean societies has been made, for instance, by Caro Baroja describing Andalusian society. ³²³ And it seems to have been the main reason behind municipal regulation of socialization between men and women in rural towns, which included prohibitions on mingling in washplaces, roads, churches. In one of the towns of the Campo de Calatrava for which municipal regulations of 1788 have been preserved, the presence of unmarried women in the inns was strictly forbidden. ³²⁴

But there is a second meaning or expression of male honour in rural societies that is directly related to the organization of work. Referring to 19th century French peasantry, Segalen affirms:

The peasants pride themselves on exempting their mothers and sisters from working the land (...) A man who allowed his women to work outside the house puts his

³²² López Casero, art. cit., p.122.

³²³ Caro Baroja, in Peristiany, J. G. (ed.), Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society.

³²⁴ "In no inn or tavern could there be women under 40, even if they were the owner's daughters, only married women and widows being excluded (from the prohibition). In Ciudad Real the license to trade was taken away, and the offending tavern keeper vanished for two years." Díaz Pintado, Conflicto social, marginación y mentalidades en La Mancha (siglo XVIII), p. 61.

honour at risk, in two ways: directly, by showing that he is incapable of maintaining his family himself, and incapable of observing the cultural role assigned to him, a role establishing the superiority of the males with regard to the inferiority of the females of the family; and indirectly, because it would be more difficult for him to control their behaviour in the sphere of sexual relations. Whence the cultural emphasis placed on the seclusion of women: the fields are forbidden to most peasant women, and they are rarely seen in public." 325

The explanation of male honour as also related to the organization of work. The fact that work represents superiority and inferiority accounts also for a regional pattern, noticed by Segalen in France as a feature of the Southern regions. It is also to be seen in the comparison of our three cases. Only different organizations of work can explain why the male notion of honour changes so clearly from one region to another.

Both taverns and other public places, such as the plazas, have generally been seen as simply places of leisure. They were much more than that. They were the fundamental places of development of the local social relations, and the only places of discussion of community matters. They had a direct impact on the economic and political life of the villages and towns. And the organization of work was a central piece of the economic and social life.

If the role of these public places is redefined in this way, their exclusively male character acquires immediately a new meaning. It suggests that a direct link existed in peasant Spain between spatial mobility and the economic and social role of women and men.

To what extent did it affect the supply of labour? Differential access to public places has a two-fold meaning for the understanding of segregated access to the labour market. In a general way, it contributed to the cultural definition of social groups, attaching to women and men different social identities, with different rights, different patterns of behaviour, different needs. The different pattern of access to public spaces described was related to different patterns of mobility, differential capacity to spend money, to make decisions about individual consumption, and to have access to socially valued goods, such as

325 Anton Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian village, 1860-1960*. Quoted in Segalen, *ob. cit.*, p. 171.

spirits, tobacco, and so on.

To the extent to which exclusively male spaces were identified with the spaces of decision-making processes (decisions on the political, economic and social questions of local life), groups not permitted access to these places were in fact excluded from these decisions, the information, etc. For instance, in Pas, taverns were the place for cattle dealings. Absent from these spaces, women were progressively isolated from the local businesses and the process of decision-making outside the family.

As we will see below, the convenience of maintaining women outside the public space was defended and justified by authorities such as the Church. Domestic seclusion was described as a fundamental feature of womanhood.³²⁶ Although the discourse was intended to apply to all women, it is interesting to note that the ideal of women's seclusion was never actually forced, or achieved, in areas where the demand for labour came from the family farm, such as in Pas. It was instead typical of Southern areas (here represented by Almagro and Rute), where labour was mostly waged, and a very scarce good.

The transition from private homes to a public space such as the Plaza means the transition from private to social life, and empowerment for men, the individuals who made such a transition.

³²⁶ Learning to knit, sew or embroider pursued to ensure the girl's submission to authority: "Spinning, and later embroidery, force one to keep still. At the age when bands of young men are roaming the village night and day, at the age when they are exploring the wilds by hunting, girls are sewing, with backs bent and eyes fixed on the threads to be counted, their attention held by their work. (...) Unlike the young men, the only area they are allowed to explore is the village. They are never seen in neighbouring villages except when invited to votive feasts by relations. So they are controlled in space, but also in time. Girls must never be seen to be doing nothing; the occupation of free time is an important means of controlling them. Reading is one occupation that is particularly opposed (...) in former times, they were restricted by the immeasurable length of time they had to spend spinning." Fine, art. cit., p.134.

2. Forces shaping the supply of labour external to the family

2. a. The organization of labour in mid-18th century.

If labour markets developed in a gendered way it was not only due to the way in which families 'constructed' their members. Whenever workers tried not to follow the family pattern, and evidence on this is abundant, they encountered other mechanisms, belonging to the "public sphere", which pursued the same objectives.

In the following pages I describe some of the mechanisms *external to the family* that contributed to the shaping of individuals as "female" or "male" workers. The genesis and causes of these mechanisms will not be discussed here. My approach is concerned only with *their effect in shaping the supply of labour*.

To the extent to which this thesis suggests that supply factors were responsible for the gendered way in which a supply of labour emerged, that is, that it was not the market which accounted for it, the "external to families" elements analyzed here will be as a counterproof. That is, to answer the question of to what extent these "external" elements acted autonomously and enforced a gender division of labour where this did not exist?, or, on the contrary, did they merely follow a gender division whose origin can be traced back to the family?

The analysis distinguishes two levels: in a broad sense, labour supply and demand were influenced by what could be termed *mentality* or ideology, the set of values and ideas that governed social life. These ideas can be traced in the discourse of social forces, Catholic moralists, local instances of government, parish priests, etc. But they can be also identified in legislation and the State's action, in *policies*. What kind of ideas on workers and work organization had Spanish 18th century governants, to what extent did they try to put them into practice, and succeeded in enforcing their ideal?

A second level of analysis must focus on the dynamism of this framework. Enlightened policies aimed to reform, in some cases to profoundly change, some of the Spanish social structures. They paid special attention to the organization of labour, so their regulations and policies will be discussed

focusing on both their new and traditional features.

In order to integrate these two levels (the 'mentality/policies' approach and the 'before Ilustrados/Ilustrado policies' approach), I first discuss how labour was regulated when reformist Ilustrados took over around 1740, considering ideas as well as regulations, such as the guild system. Ilustrado labour policies are subsequently analyzed.

Two elements structured wage labour when Ilustrados began to develop their policies: Catholic thought on family and labour was defended and reinforced. In contrast, the traditional guild structure, that had limited the supply of skilled labour to men, was abolished, for women devoted to manufactures, in particular to textile manufactures, were an important part of Ilustrado policies.

In the first decades of the 18th century, regulations on labour were reduced to guild normatives. An institution established in the Middle Ages, but still active and influential in 18th century Spain, guilds had been originally concerned with the defence of standards of quality regarding raw materials, patterns, etc. More importantly for its social consequences, with the control of the supply of skilled labour through the institution of apprenticeship. Guilds monopolized the learning of the crafts and in practice, occupation in skilled work, a situation not unique to Spain.³²⁷

As is known, women were excluded from membership of the guilds. Opposition to women's skilled work had such strong negative effects that Ilustrado governants attempted to reverse this control. In his 1785 report to the Junta general de Comercio y Moneda on the "free exercise of the arts", Jovellanos drew attention to the fact that Government's legislation had qualified women to perform any occupations that Nature allows them to, freeing them from the chains of guilds' legislation.

³²⁷ "In most European towns girls' work options were limited by the restrictions of the guilds, which regulated the urban world of skilled work (...) Resistance to women in guild-regulated production often came less from the masters than from their workmen (...) When work was plentiful and labor scarce, the guilds were relatively tolerant and turned a blind eye to women's activities in their sphere; but when times were hard, attitudes changed (...) By the late eighteenth century the guilds were fast disappearing in Britain and France. Even so, women existed most easily in newer trades such as millinery and mantua making, which had no medieval antecedents." Hufton, "Women, Work, and Family", p. 25.

2. a. 1. Catholic moralists and parish priests

The Church played a fundamental role in the modelling of the organization of work at a family and locality basis. Aware of this role, reformists tried to utilize the influence of the Church, and in particular that of parish priests, to channel their policies.³²⁸

Priests were considered suited to transmit reformist ideas on the organization of labour, and particularly on women. Bernardo Ward, who was a member of the King's Council and minister of Commerce, wrote in 1762:

"No one ignores the importance of taking women out of idleness, and the difficulty of achieving this by other means, for as far as they are concerned, the authority of the Sovereign, the zeal of the public interest, or the consideration of their duties, are useless. Often, though not knowing what it consists of, the most virtuous woman thinks she has done her godly duty if she has prayed a lot, even if she has not done any work to keep her children. In order to change her ideas, and thus her way of life, it has been necessary to find people who can influence them, such as the eminent men of each town, on whom they rely, such as priests and confessors, particularly priests, who in their teaching do not ignore this matter which is so much a part of their duty"³²⁹.

The influence of the priests in shaping peasant organization of labour was nevertheless due more to the Church's own tradition of diffusing a model of work behaviour than to the influence of reformist thinkers and politicians.

This tradition was based upon the Church's concern with the organization of daily life of Catholics. Manuals and writings providing norms and precepts to regulate daily life covered in theory all the members of the Catholic family, but affected in fact the wife and mother, whose main duty was precisely to serve her

³²⁸ For instance, to diffund prime minister Godoy's plan to modernize the agriculture a publication was organized specifically addressed to parish priests, who were expected to implement the new experiments in rural industries and crops in their parishes. F. Díez, *El Semanario de Agricultura y Artes dirigido a los párrocos*.

³²⁹ Ward, *Proyecto económico, en el que se proponen varias providencias, dirigidas a promover los intereses de España, con los medios y fondos necesarios para su plantificación*, 2nd impression, Madrid, Joachin Ibarra, 1779, p. 383.

family. 330

The organic vision of society was shared by moralists and philosophers. But Christian moralists were particularly interested in regulating the domestic sphere, and particularly women's behaviour. They developed a model of family that was a replica of the body-republic. Like the republic, the family had its head, the husband: "la société familiale est organisée selon une hiérarchie. A la tête se trouve le mari qui a le rôle de chef (...) La femme doit lui être subordonnée, comme le corps obéit à la direction de la tête, comme l'Eglise obéit au Christ" 331.

As Barbazza points out, the organic vision, of the state as well as of the family, has proved most useful in justifying social hierarchies.

Probably the most influential of these manuals was Luis de León's La perfecta casada (*The perfect married woman*), first published in 1583. Luis de León, one of the most important Spanish theologians of all times, wrote this book as a letter to doña María Varela Osorio, a Castilian noble woman about to marry. He based it on the last chapter of the Proverbs, where Salomon had already defined the perfect married Christian woman. 332

This work is of the greatest interest for its immense influence on Spanish women until very recently (it was given to girls about to marry as a gift still in the first decades of the 20th century), and because, of the innumerable treatises discussing housework as women's duty, is the one that most clearly defines the home as women's place, and housework as women's work.

His starting point is society as ordained by God:

330 M.C.Barbazza, "L'épouse chrétienne et les moralistes espagnols des XVIe et XVIIe siècles", Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez, XXIV, 1988, 99-137, shows the importance that regulation of the daily time of wives had for the Church and the many manuals devoted to diffund the norms underlying Christian marriage, from Erasmus' Institution of Christian marriage, of 1526. "Tous les écrits insistent sur le fait que cette activité féminine doit être incessante. L'épouse sera la première à se lever, la dernière à se coucher" (p.125).

331 Barbazza, art. cit., p. 102.

332 Sociologist María Angeles Durán first analyzed this moral text as an economic treaty defining women's duties as houseworkers. "Una lectura económica de fray Luis de León", Actas de las I Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Estudios sobre la Mujer, 1983.

It is God who orders it, and the proper and particular thing He asks each one is to respond to the obligation of his trade, fulfilling the charge and lot that have corresponded to him and, failing in this, offends Him, although in other things he advances and stands out. Because, as in the war the soldier who leaves his position is not accomplishing with his captain (...) God does not want in His home he who fails to do the trade in which He puts him.³³³

He then described housework as the function ordered by God to women, through the performance of which the Natural order functions.

The problem and the solution are both described as the two sides of the coin: the problem is idleness, a major danger for women for economic and moral reasons. The solution is housework, which is endowed with both moral and economic virtues. The link established by moralists between women and honesty, a most valuable good to be protected, will have a fundamental implication for later developments. Measures must be taken in order to safeguard women's honesty, since women themselves were not able to. In this way, the door was opened to the intervention of individuals (male members of the family) and institutions in women's lives and, as will be seen, in the regulation of women's work.

Studying 16th and 17th centuries Spanish moralists and the model of woman they proposed, Barbazza concludes that they insisted upon three virtues: seclusion, temperance, and application to work.

As will be seen below, there is a direct line between these ideas on women's duties, and policies on the organization of work. For instance, *the idea that women's honesty had to be protected had deep implications for women's access to wage labour*. These ideas existed and survived over the centuries to the extent to which they were functional for a certain model of division of work, by which housework was defined as unpaid work done by women.

The question is to what extent moralists and parish priests actually succeeded in influencing women's and men's work patterns. Such an influence must have depended on the general power of influence of the Church, which was realised through four mechanisms.

³³³ Fray Luis de León, La perfecta casada, Espasa Calpe, p. 14.

First, through the sermons, in turn heavily influenced by the readings of moralists. Evidence on the way in which parish priests regulated local life through sermons, entering into details of what we would regard today as strictly private life, is abundant.

Low attendance of the rural population or the urban poor at the religious services cannot be interpreted as a limitation of the power and influence of the discourse of the Church. Parish priests performed in rural Spain non religious activities that guaranteed them a more influential position. They could be lenders of corn and money; they were in charge of issuing certificates on the individuals' good behaviour, an important prerogative in areas where contraband was a popular activity. Particularly in rural towns, people's reputation depended on them.

The influence of the Church was also achieved through education. In many rural villages it was the parish priest who provided elementary education, teaching himself or sending some of the boys to seminars, one of the few opportunities for moving up the social ladder in Spain.³³⁴

Education provided by the Church was only for male children. Some convents of nuns provided in the 19th century a possibility for (urban) girls to learn domestic skills, such as sewing and embroidery.

The third channel of church influence was through its role as organizer of poor relief. The policies on the poor had been particularly important in Spain. A society built upon Christian values, alms giving and charity were regarded as a duty, and asking for assistance as a right. Theologians had even defined the poor as morally superior beings, for, having no properties, they were more closely following God's principles. Religious institutions channeled a large part of their revenues to the daily distribution of bread, clothes and money among the poor. When in the 16th century some voices began to be heard about the excessive number of poor that crowded the cities (when the poor began to be regarded as a

³³⁴ It was one of the principal functions of the regular clergy, that brought the friars "into close contact with the general population. The mendicants often opened their courses in arts and philosophy to local students." William J. Callahan, "The Spanish Church", in William J. Callahan and David Higgs (eds.), Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century, p. 43.

problem because they would get involved in urban conflictivity), some pointed to the extended practice of charity as the cause of this problem. Treatises and works were written differentiating between “false” and “real poor”, and a young or middle age and good physical shape were mentioned as criteria to identify the “false poor”. Those identified as false poor would be forced by the state to work.

This position was represented by the philosopher Juan Luis Vives, who in his treaty *De subventionem pauperum* (Bruges, 1526) proposed different measures to solve the problem of the poor, “Above all (...) that every one eats his bread acquired through his work (...) that no idle person exists among the poor who for his age or health can work...”³³⁵.

Last, there was role of the Church as direct employer. Some bishops were actively involved in reformist projects such as the promotion of local manufactures and schools for the training of artisans.³³⁶

The Church had both a work model to impose and the resources to impose it. Its influence continued during the 19th century, increasingly focusing on women. In late 19th century, writer Emilia Pardo Bazán described thsu Church influence:

There are cities in Spain (in Vizcaya and Andalucía), where the influence of Jesuits is such, that families are governed by the advice given in the confessional (...) Yet husbands, or in general those who exerte authority over women, know that confessors are not an enemy, but an ally. It almost never happens that the confessor advises women to complain, fight and liberate themselves, but to submit, cede, and conform.³³⁷

³³⁵ V. Martín, “El socorro a los pobres. Los opúsculos de Vives y Sotos”, *Información comercial española*, 656, 1988, p. 12. The Spanish possessive pronoun , as in “su pan”, “su trabajo”, “su edad”, is both female and male. It can, however, be translated as “his” considering that the universal discourse was regarded as equivalent to male. Had Vives meant to include women he would have made a specific mention.

³³⁶ Callahan, op. cit., p. 40.

³³⁷ Pardo Bazán, *La mujer española*, p. 37.

2. a. 2. Local instances of power: the Concejos

Differences between family members were backed by a legal system which had a fundamental importance in structuring them. In peasant societies such as those studied here, this legal framework, as well as a more informal set of norms and regulations, were enforced by the municipal power.

An understanding of the historical origin of the municipal institutions is fundamental to describing the normative framework in which local life evolved, not only regarding the law, but also customary practice and traditions.

The origin of Spanish municipalities has been traced to the Middle Ages, and interpreted as one of the fundamental consequences of the Reconquest, an eight-century long military process, during which most of the municipalities were created. The causes of the creation of municipalities can be grouped into two: military convenience, in places where it was important to create or reinforce settlements in order to guarantee the borders, and economic interests, for instance in coastal areas, where commercial settlements were developing. Military regulations and norms, and guild regulations formed in the two cases the basis of local power, which was not transformed until the 19th century.

"The key to the social organization lay then in the distribution of the land amongst the *repobladores* (...) two other factors have a decisive influence: the military fact and the organization of the economic life based upon the market"³³⁸. The main elements of this municipal power, its power structures, were soldiers or lords, *repobladores* ("vecinos" in the sense of individuals holding certain rights), and members of the Concejo or town council.

The military origin explains the exclusion of women from the institutions of local power and from the practices of regulating the local life. "The municipality is the institutional expression of the relationships of convivencia that develop within each nucleus of population, of the *permanent relations of contact*. (p. 235).

The historical process by which these communities of peasants and

³³⁸ Luis Morell Ocaña, *El régimen local español*, vol. I, p. 230.

merchants achieved these spaces for autonomy has been interpreted traditionally in the framework of the growing loss of power of the high nobility and the progressive abolition of feudal rights (be these from a lord or a military order). before the king, as this granted the communities the right to organize themselves (either for political or, since the 17th century, for financial reasons, since communities bought their rights and the crown needed this money).

Expansion of municipal power, promoted by the French revolutionary and taken by the Cortes de Cádiz in 1812, has been portrayed as a centre piece of the historical creation of the community as people. This fails even to mention that half of the people were never included as such.

In this sense is important to refer to the legal and political definition of the local community. Who were the individuals integrating it? The medieval legal doctrine of the *universitas* decribed the local community as a collectivity with legal capacity. The theory of the *common* of the *vecinos*, as the juridical expression of a collectivity settled on certain lands. This collectivity expressed itself in the institution of the town council: "The social group and its organization identify themselves through the institution of the Concejo abierto (open town council)." (p. 350).

Concejos had two main functions: *property* and *administration* of the communal goods, defined in the 14th century in the Partidas, one of the main corpus of Spanish law, as the goods that "pertenecen a todos los homes comunalmente", and municipal *government*, decision making over local matters.

In the 18th century legal doctrine on municipal power, influenced by naturalism, tended to define it as a natural institution, an institution that fulfilled the ideals of social and legal institutions to the extent to which it represented a natural order. The Enlightened concept of ordering things *secundum naturam* intended to follow the natural order created by God. (p. 352).

A later development in the legal definition of the individual who is the basis of the town is the citizen. To gain citizenship, and the rights inherent to citizenship, residence in a town was required.

Some fundamental differences exist between Northern and Southern

Spain. Rute and Almagro belong to the second group, municipalities born out of the military process of the Reconquest, Almagro being even the capital of the land of a Military Order. The Pas villages, on the contrary, existed before becoming municipalities, as dependencies of larger and wealthier towns. The family basis of the Pasiego economy was enforced by the community through the Concejo, to which all married men belonged.

Women were not permitted access to the meetings of the Concejos. In fact, women's exclusion was one of the fundamentals of this system of regulation of local life. ³³⁹

Concejos governed local life with the help of a body of rules called Ordenanzas municipales, or municipal regulations. The Concejo ruled on all matters of local life, labour contributions to community, access to communal resources, etc. The domestic process of decision-making cannot be explained without reference to this institution.

Not all towns had these regulations. I have localized two of them, two of different years for Rute and one for San Pedro del Romeral, one of the Pasiego villages. The Municipal regulations of one of the towns of Campo de Calatrava, Almodóvar, have been published. ³⁴⁰

In 1808, when Rute's town council took measures against the growing unrest related to the war, included were the entrega of firearms hold by citizens and the prohibition of gatherings at the local taverns. They included also the prohibition that "no women for no reason be present in the public plazas or streets of this town, or stop to talk under any circumstance, remaining in their houses, with the calm and peace that is proper to their sex" ³⁴¹.

³³⁹ The Gallego women interviewed by Núñez in the 1980's referred to the xuntas, the Gallego concejo: " 'They are not organized anymore, but before, when there were, the ones who went to them were they; they were men's things.' All the women with whom we have talked agree in giving this image of the xuntas." 'Cousas de mulleres', p. 79. Absence of women from these local institutions is taken for granted in studies of local institutions, even in those that claim to describe the interests of the different social groups. For instance, Hijano, El pequeño poder. El municipio en la Corona de Castilla: siglos XV al XIX, 1992.

³⁴⁰ Díez Pintado, Conflicto social, marginación y mentalidades en la Mancha, p. 61.

³⁴¹ García Jiménez, Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna, p.180.

Local regulations were not, however, the source of women's exclusion from legal rights. It was the general law which defined them as subject to their husbands or fathers.

Some of the aspects of women's legal status had a deep influence on the organization of domestic and local life. One of them is the fact that the state recognized only the husband as legal representative of the household, including his wife. This was already seen with regard to inheritance questions. But it affected every aspect of daily life. In 1876, for instance, Doña Serafina Abascal Crespo, of Vega de Pas, married, "devoted to the occupations proper of her sex", appeared as plaintiff before the local judge, accompanied by Don Manuel Abascal Crespo, her brother, "the husband of the plaintiff not appearing being incapacitated and without sense". Don Juan Oria Ortiz, neighbour of the same, married, proprietor, appeared as defendant. "It was requested by the plaintiff that the defendant be punished for having made highly injurious statements publicly against the plaintiff's honour, repeating and telling to Juan Oria to Bernardo Abascal, husband of the plaintiff, that her daughter is not her husband's daughter".

Not even the defence of personal honour could be made, married women lacking any legal capacity. The defendant answered that "if the plaintiff does not have a permission from her husband, she completely lacks the faculty to appear at a trial, and the trial cannot occur, and the Judge should not have admitted the complaint, therefore he protests this trial" ³⁴².

Another important aspect of women's status in general law was residence. Women were obliged to follow their husband wherever he established his residence. ³⁴³ Besides its practical consequences, the importance of this law lies in the fact that it explicitly denied women the capacity of acquiring residence by themselves, one of the foundations, as has been seen, of the concept of citizen,

³⁴² Archivo Municipal de Vega de Pas, box 1, oral trials. "The husband is the representative of the wife. She cannot, without his licence, appear at a trial by herself or by means of an attorney", according to art. 60 of the Civil Code of 1888, reformed in 1975.

³⁴³ Art. 59 of the Civil Code, vigent until the reform of May, 2, 1975.

and of the rights deriving from the status of citizen.

The Civil Code enacted in 1888 repeated these norms: "the husband must protect the wife and the wife must obey the husband".³⁴⁴

This is the legal framework in which men and women had access to wage labour.

2. b. The reorganization promoted by the Enlightened project.

Like elsewhere in Europe, in Spain the interest of Ilustrados in the organization of labour was linked to their attempt to reform the country's economic and social structures. Determined to renew the nation's power after the crisis of the 17th century, the encouragement of commerce and industry occupied an important place in the plans of the Bourbon monarchs, Philip V (1700-1746), Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) and Charles III (1759-1788).

But these reforms had an added meaning, for the deep-rooted Spanish values of honour and charity were seen as the main obstacles to economic 'modernization', and so the campaign to promote the new values was both more 'new' and more intense than in other European countries.³⁴⁵

In turn, state intervention was further reinforced because the campaign to dignify the mechanic arts centered around the concept of honour, and "since honour represented the specific social recognition of an individual's contribution to the common good, it took precise form in a legal sense through the concession of privileges, distinctions and carefully stated rights."³⁴⁶

In this context, the critique of idleness became a favourite theme. The non-working population were seen as a major burden for society and one of the

³⁴⁴ Art. 57, title IV, "Of marriage".

³⁴⁵ "The attention of the state was also inevitably drawn to the obstacle to economic progress created by what was assumed to be a pervasive and tenacious system of values that regarded certain forms of business enterprise and manual labor in an industrial context as dishonorable for noble and commoner alike." Callahan, Honour, Commerce, and Industry in Eighteenth century Spain, p. 1.

³⁴⁶ Callahan, Honor, commerce and industry, p. 46.

reasons of Spanish decline.³⁴⁷ Bernardo Ward, a member of the Royal Council and minister of Commerce, wrote in 1762 that "the useful occupation of men is the more fundamental point of the entire economic system."³⁴⁸

18th century governants worked and legislated using as a basis for their model of work organization the family, an institution directed by the head who governed over the rest of its members, his wife and his children. Eighteenth century governants defined access to wage labour according to the individual's position within the family. The ideal economic unit for Enlightened thinkers and politicians was the family farm, the basis for the programs of agricultural reform that shaped the projects of repopulation of abandoned lands, redistribution of land, reforms in the tenant system, etc.³⁴⁹

The Enlightened conception of women's and men's roles and functions must be understood as part of this consideration of the family as the ideal unit of social and economic organization.

2. b. 1. The 'new' model of peasant family: the spinning wife.

The Ilustrado concern for women's work had two origins: first, women were seen as forming an important part of the non occupied population, and as such they were potential objects of Ilustrado labour reforms.

Second, Ilustrado governants advocated a more balanced sectorial structure of the economy. Agriculture was no longer the only source of wealth,

³⁴⁷ The main texts of this debate in Antonio Elorza, "La polémica sobre los oficios viles en la España del siglo XVIII", *Revista de Trabajo* (1968), no. 22, 69-283.

³⁴⁸ Ward, *Proyecto económico*, p. 196.

³⁴⁹ "In 1761 the crown had decided to improve the artery that connected the capital with Andalusia and the American colonies. To make the highway from Madrid to Seville and Cádiz safe, settlements were needed in the lonely stretches frequented by bandits. The long road through the Sierra Morena, broken only by a few solitary inns, especially worried the planners. Inspired by the desire to reform the countryside, in 1766 Campomanes took charge of creating new model colonies in the region." Richard Herr, *Rural Change and Royal Finances*, p. 38. In these *nuevas poblaciones*, land was distributed and rights such as tax exemptions granted to the *colonos* in order to attract them. The only requisite was to have a family, regarded as a guarantee for the successful creation of a farm. Dimension of the plots distributed was also calculated from the extension that three or four family members could till.

and the role of commerce and manufactures was increasingly valorized. A major obstacle to achieving this was what they described as an incorrect allocation of labour resources: men tended to engage in commercial activities and temporary migrations, leaving agriculture to women. As a consequence, agricultural works were poorly performed and domestic manufactures abandoned, women not being able to (or refusing to) engage in them.

The Enlightened model can be analyzed through the written works and policies of Enlightened reformers. The fundamental work to understand the reformist projects regarding the organization of labour is the Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular, written by count Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes in 1774. Campomanes (1723-1803), minister of Charles III, was one of the leading figures of the Ilustrado movement. His book, published by the government and distributed as a means to diffund the reformist project, was immensely influential.³⁵⁰

The Discurso was a program to organize work, and the organizational model it proposed was based on a strict division between women's and men's tasks. It starts by describing what was perceived by Campomanes as the main problem of the nation, women's lack of occupation:

"Considering 11 millions of inhabitants in the Peninsula and adjacent islands (...) there are 5.500.000 persons of the female sex (...) which currently live generally idle, lacking a proportioned and accesible occupation (...) a million and a half, of those under 7, the aged, and the ill, can be deducted from this."

Four millions remained "useful to honestly occupy themselves in such industries, and contribute to the sustenance of their families". Yet Campomanes was not advocating women's occupation in general, but in one 'proportioned and accesible':

each person of the female sex can spin daily by spindle 8 to 10 ounces of ordinary thread. If she spins by spinning wheel, the cloth will come out more equal, and

³⁵⁰ The first edition was state-financed and consisted of 30.000 copies.

she can spin 13 to 17 ounces (...) daily in the free hours (...) the same will occur to the female servants that live idle in the homes, and it would be a means to compensate for the salary they take ³⁵¹.

Work in factories or workshops should be replaced by housework, that had the advantage of no time limits. This project was for women only.

Campomanes was not alone in his efforts to convert women into domestic spinners. Almost all of his contemporaries wrote about the subject. Cándido María Trigueros, a writer and member of the Real Sociedad Económica de Sevilla, regarded women's and children's work as the most convenient for his plan of developing wool manufactures in Seville. ³⁵²

The interest in spinning can be understood as part of the government's interest in increasing the national production of textile manufactures. ³⁵³ It included also lace making, making of ribbons, etc. However, promotion of spinning was never part of an organized plan to develop a national manufacture. No plans were laid for the other stages of textile manufacture, nor was a market developed in order to absorb the millions of tons of wool that the four millions of women would spin.

Moralists and Enlightened governants considered putting women to spin as good in itself, regardless of the incapacity of the domestic market to absorb their production. In fact, more important than the promotion of spinning was the promotion of *women as spinners*. Spinning was defined as a women's task for *it was done at home*, that is, it made it possible for women to engage in production without abandoning their domestic duties, their servicing of family members. As Campomanes himself put it: "The current burden with which almost all the sex lives upon the men in Spain will cease, [women] being able to

³⁵¹ Campomanes, pp. 82 and fol.

³⁵² Díez, El Semanario de Agricultura, p. 123.

³⁵³ The textile sector was the first one in benefiting from a protective public policy. In 1756 Fernando VI initiated a series of fiscal exemptions and privileged access to raw materials that by the last decades of the century became direct interventions in the productive process. Rodríguez Labandeira, "La política económica de los Borbones", in Miguel Artola (ed.), La economía española al final del Antiguo Régimen. IV. Las Instituciones, 148-154.

contribute highly to the common wealth of the Nation *without getting out of their domestic works.*" 354

Spinning as a woman's occupation had a long tradition in peasant societies throughout Europe. 355 In promoting spinning as the ideal occupation for women, Ilustrados joined the old Catholic tradition that regarded it as the more morally acceptable occupation for women. 356

Jovellanos explained this position in a speech delivered in 1785 at the Economic Society of Madrid on the occasion of the distribution of prizes for spinning, that he described as "that primitive craft that, be it regarded by the number and variety of the manufactures to whom it serves, or by the crowd of hands that it occupies, or by the facility with which it is learned, or by the wealth that it produces, is without doubt the most important and profitable of all developed by the industry of man." But, "above all", continued Jovellanos, spinning was "useful and important for the influence it has on the public costumes." Taking the girls that had attended the spinning school of the Economic Society as an example of this beneficial effect, he described:

the evils from which we have preserved them; see in them the most gross ignorance replaced by religious instruction; idleness by honest application; indolence by emulation, *descaro* by modesty; in a word, see them taken from the paths of vice to the road of virtue 357.

The main advantage of domestic manufactures as promoted by Spanish Ilustrados was that they guaranteed the maintenance of the pattern of female

354 Campomanes, op. cit., p.67.

355 Spinning was the symbol of women's work at home, and as such was present in the marriage ceremonies. "When it comes to illustrating a world turned upside down, we get images of a man spinning (...) *Un homme qui file et une femme qui conduit les chevaux composent un ménage ridicule*". Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family*, p. 32.

356 According to Barbazza, art. cit., p. 109, "le tissage et surtout le filage" are the two occupations that appear in all the manuals by Spanish Catholic moralists when describing women's duties.

357 "Discurso pronunciado en la Sociedad económica en 16 de julio de 1785, con motivo de la distribución de premios de hilados", in Jovellanos, *Obras*, Biblioteca de Autores españoles, vol. III.

spatial seclusion, importing it into peasant society. Spatial seclusion was functional to the model of family servicing done by women and contributed to segregating the rising forms of wage labour.

An interesting text by an Ilustrado shows how the 'spatial seclusion' factor is fundamental to understanding the Ilustrado advocacy of women as spinners. It also suggests how by the last decades of the 18th century the model of women's work was hotly debated because *changes were taking place in the structure of activity*.

The text was written by an anonymous author from Santander around 1795 and sent to the minister of the Finances in 1798. It is a long report on the situation of the manufactures, commerce and agriculture of his province, accurately reflecting the Ilustrado preoccupations and analyses.³⁵⁸ The author included among the nine "more considerable wrongs that afflict this Province" the following:

"4. That the general policy on mills, receiving the grain by its weight and trading it by the flour, is not respected. Women go there at night to mill by themselves, and using this pretext of work, they lose their honesty, and abandon themselves to promiscuity. Many zealous Missionaries have worked to outlaw this pernicious practice, but in vain.

5. That the selling of fruits, beans, and other domestic products be of their exclusive control, attending for this purpose fairs and pilgrimages far away, with no other sellable items than those they carry on their heads. This vice causes the lack of industry in the Pas towns, and the tendency of those natives to deal in contraband.

6. In the valley of Camargo, Piélagos, and towns of the Abadía region, women are so vicious in the excess of coming to Santander with small bundless of wood on their heads, that for 8 or 10 cuartos that they make for each of them they tore off their clothes to gather it, and none of them know in practice the spindle nor the wheel. For a real of salary women can be found ready to go loaded two or three miles, but no one that wants to spin even if a double salary is offered to them. From here follows *the distraction of their own works*, that they get used to a vagrant life, to eat and drink in the taverns, to lose their modesty for the acquitances provided by the Roads to seduce their innocence; and finally that *they escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the works that restrict them within the House.*"

It is noticeable in this text that all the problems regarding women are related to their mobility: women mill grain in the mills, go to distant markets to sell fruit or wood. But in fact, what the criticism of women's mobility is about is

³⁵⁸ J. M., Estado de las fábricas, comercio, industria y agricultura en las Montañas de Santander, p. 244.

wage activities, as opposed to domestic work.

In Northern Spain, retail commerce had traditionally been performed by women, one of which main sources of income came from their movements to the Santander market. By the late 18th century, criticism of this practice grows, based on the reaction against women's physical mobility and what this entailed ("eat and drink in the taverns"), and also, because mobility entailed women's failure to fulfil their domestic duties.

In conclusion, the Ilustrado model of organization of labour was based on the allocation of labour resources along gender lines. This model was in turn based on previous ideas on gender identity, and male and female identification with certain activities. The Ilustrado model had two intentions regarding women: to work more, and to work only in the activities defined as proper for them. These were those that permitted them to perform "their housework chores" at the same time.

While agricultural work was defined as male (and the fact that in areas of high male outmigration it was in women's hands was lamented), industry was defined as female. This was possible because the type of industry in which Ilustrados were interested was domestic industry, or domestic manufactures, not factory industry. In turn, this preference for domestic manufactures instead of factory work rested in the fact that housework had no limit of time.

Evidence on how ideas of women's and men's social places were present is abundant. What was new in these decades was that they were defended in opposition to the new work opportunities for women in the expanding labour market. Increasing numbers of women wage workers, even of women factory workers --i.e., 'real wage workers'-- not only did not change these ideas, but reinforced them. Women were not seen as legitimate wage workers. ³⁵⁹

The model of work organization proposed by Spanish Enlightened governants was in perfect synchrony with the model traditionally advocated by

³⁵⁹ When in 1831 a strike was organized by the 2,400 women workers of the Tobacco factory of La Coruña, the sargent in charge of stopping the demonstration wrote in his report describing the events later how he approximated to the demonstrators, shouting "the women to wash the dishes to their houses, the men to their houses or to dig to the countryside!" L. Alonso Alvarez, "De la manufactura a la industria: la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de La Coruña (1804-1857)", p.33.

the Church. Far from being a Spanish peculiarity, this coincidence between traditional viewpoints and reformists, or even revolutionary, models with regard to women, was the general European tendency.

Ideas did not remain within the limits of books. In the following pages I discuss to what extent the *Ilustrado* elite actually carried them through into legislative practice.

2. b. 2. The enforcement of the 'new' model: legislation and State intervention.

The economic policies of the 18th century Enlightened reformists have been the object of extensive historical research. However, historians have failed to identify a policy on labour among the many issues on which reformists legislated.³⁶⁰ Less surprisingly, they have equally failed to describe the gender basis of the *Ilustrado* model of labour organization.

Initiatives of Enlightened governments regarding work can be grouped into three main series of norms. First, general measures promoting work and the increase of the active population. These were addressed to different groups: hidalgos (law of 1783 declaring honest and honourable manual trades), beggars (organization of workhouses), nuns (Jovellanos proposal on the contemplative nuns engaging in work), women (law of 1779 abolition of guilds' restrictions on women's work), foreign workers (dispositions facilitating or directly organizing the immigration of skilled artisans and farmers).

Second, measures tending to reorganize the sectorial structure of activity. The model promoted was the manufacturing farm, in this way hoping to avoid seasonal agricultural underemployment with domestic manufactures. At the same time, production of manufactures was promoted for the purpose of solving

³⁶⁰ For instance, Vicent Llobart, author of a authoritative biography of Campomanes (*Campomanes, economista y político de Carlos III*, 1992), groups the Enlightened legislative work in five policies: agrarian, industrial, commercial, financial, and a policy on public works and communications, besides "other measures". He sees no labour policy, although he recognizes "the growth of the occupation and population" as one of the basic objectives of their economic policy. Llobart, "La política económica de Carlos III. Fiscalismo, cosmética o estímulo al crecimiento?".

the problem of commercial debt (immigration of foreign artisans).

A third group of measures pertained to the reorganization of productive activities by gender. These are of two types:

- a. Measures intended to exclude women or men from certain occupations
- b. Measures intended to promote certain occupations as particularly convenient or suitable for men or women. (In fact, legal dispositions affected only women, although regulating on women's position is a way of regulating on men's position.)

Measures restricting access to waged sectors

Measures regulating access of men and women to the labour market acted on both the supply and demand sides of the market. A good example of state regulations on the supply side is provided by the prohibition on Gallego and Asturiano women from joining the gangs of harvesters that travelled through Castile and Andalucía.

Galicia, in North West Spain, was one of the poorest regions in the 18th century, and traditionally one of the main sources of male and female migration, internal in all ages, transoceanic in the 19th and 20th centuries, European in the 20th century.

For many Gallego districts, seasonal migration for the harvest to the plains of Castile and Andalucía had become by the 18th century a fundamental occupation, that compensated for the poor work possibilities at home. The presence of Gallego harvesters in the Southern provinces was so familiar that "gallego" became synonymous with harvester. Relatives and neighbours would group each year to make this seasonal move down in the hope to earn enough to save money for the rest of the year. Some 30.000 Gallego harvesters have been calculated as leaving the region each year, of which a third were women.³⁶¹

Prohibitive measures regarding women were constant during the century. In 1748, contravenors were menaced with jail or the seizure of all their goods. In

³⁶¹ Antonio Meijide Pardo, "La emigración gallega intrapeninsular en el siglo XVIII".

1754 a penalty was announced of a fine of 20 ducados and ten years of jail to those who helped women to pass to Castile among the gangs, which they were doing in male attire. These prohibitions were originally issued by the town councils, but given their scarce effectiveness, the Council of Castile intervened. In 1766 an order from the minister count of Aranda drew attention to the many dispositions of this type.

These measures affected not only women harvesters from Galicia. In Asturias, in 1786 the bishop of Oviedo repeated the royal dispositions regarding the prohibition on women to go to Castile to work as harvesters:

By Royal Ordinances of His Majesty it is forbidden, in order to avoid the serious inconveniences encountered, that any women, of any estate or condition, go to the kingdoms of Castile for the harvest of grain and other field works in the gangs of harvesters that go there, even if they are the wives, daughters or sisters of those that they accompany, [I have] given the corresponding orders to the justices so that they impede it and do not permit the said exit of women to the said harvest. ³⁶²

By the 19th century, descriptions of gangs of harvesters mention only men forming part of them.

Central and local instances of power reinforced one another generally. As is known, the absence of a general unified legal framework is one of the characteristics of Ancien Regime societies. It was not until 1812 that the first Constitution, known as the Constitución de Cádiz, was enacted in Spain. Eighteenth century Spain was regulated by a series of legislative recopiations, and very often public intervention took the form of local ordinances or by-laws.

Organization of work in towns and villages was enforced by the community through the *Concejo* or town council, to which all married men belonged. The Concejo ruled on all matters of local life, labour contributions to community, access to communal resources, etc., with the help of the municipal regulations or *Ordenanzas municipales*.

In most of these local regulations, of a particular importance to assess regulation of work in peasant societies, can be found references and prohibitions

³⁶² Quoted in G. Anes, *Economía y sociedad en la Asturias del Antiguo Régimen*, p. 28.

to occupations that women were forbade to perform. The most common was prohibitions on selling in urban markets. Urban growth had caused an increased demand for foodstuffs. Evidence shows that most of the sellers were women, often from nearby rural towns and villages, who took advantage of this rising urban demand for foodstuffs for two reasons: because they were the domestic producers of most of the dairy, fruits, vegetables, bread, etc, and because retail trade was a non regulated sector where, unlike manufactures, controlled by the guilds, they encountered no (initial) resistance to engage.

In the second half of the 18th century, thus, women appear in every town as street sellers of almost everything. As the *Ilustrado* writer cited above described in reference to Santander, "the selling of fruits, beans, and other domestic products" was "of their exclusive control", and they were "coming to Santander with small bundless of wood on their heads" as well.

As with many other *Ilustrados*, J.M. regarded this occupation as nothing to feel happy about, for in this way women were to "escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the works that restrict them within the House."

The importance of these ideas lies in the fact that state and town councils officials defended them, tried to enforce them through regulations and prohibitions, that is, with direct interventions on the labour market, eventually succeeding in excluding women from many waged occupations. I provide here only two examples, one from the city of Santander, from where the *Ilustrado* of the text was, and a second from Madrid.

In 1822, the records of incidents of the Santander market mention that:

"On the said day, a lot of plums was taken from Josefa del Río, from the town of Castro, unmarried, that she was selling in the Plaza without having a licence (...) the Señor regidor warned her that she should occupy herself in serving because she was young and alone, she replied that she did not want to serve, but to be a fruit seller, which was not permitted to her..." 363.

In Madrid, on December, 2, 1787, a new regulation was announced in the *Diario de Avisos*:

363 Archivo Municipal de Santander, Records of incidents of the market, July, 17th, 1822.

"Having confirmed the knowledge that many women devote themselves to finding, buying and selling tallow in the streets and homes of this Town, the married women, under this pretext abandon the assistance and care of their respective fathers, husbands and children, unmarried women also occupy themselves in this work, which puts their morals at risk of being corrupted as well as ruining their education and even implying the loss of their children, and the possible breaking up of their marriages, and that the day labourer Husband or Artisan lack the relief and rest which should comfort his labours and which he should find in the domestic industriousness of his wife and daughters; wishing to avoid all these inconveniences and others brought about by the continuous laziness to which those who call themselves "tallow sellers" are devoted; in order to make sure that the said women take up an honest occupation which assures their subsistence, contributes to the happiness and better order of their marriages and homes in particular, and to the good order of Society, making them learn and occupy themselves in activities, exercises and occupations proper to their sex, and so that in this way girls and women may be useful, for by occupying themselves in the said work they were not useful, and could be very damaging, living exposed to the corruption of mores due to their young age and because they owed no obedience to their fathers and husbands..."³⁶⁴

Public intervention through norms and regulations was not aimed at making women unoccupied, but at forcing upon them a "*domestic industriousness*". They sought to prevent the effect already denounced by the *Ilustrado* from Santander, that women "escape from spinning, weaving, sewing, and all the works that restrict them within the House." Measures excluding women from certain occupations must be understood in the context of the measures promoted as the most suitable for them, that is, the alternative model designed by the state.

Measures intended to promote certain occupations

As an alternative to the occupations that were regarded as not suitable for women, all occupations done at home, both unpaid (housework and servicing the family) and paid (domestic production for the market) were promoted by reformists and moralists alike. Positive measures included education and legislation.

One of the more influential initiatives of the 18th century state in shaping men's and women's entrance to the labour market was the organization of

³⁶⁴ Municipal order issued by the town council of Madrid, published in the *Diario de Avisos de Madrid*, December, 2, 1787. In Sarasúa, *Criados, nodrizas y amos*, p. 267.

education. Before that century, education was a mechanism for perpetuating the traditional society based upon the social orders. Superior education was intended to facilitate the recruitment of new members for the Church, and functionaries and bureaucrats for the imperial State.

With the increasing importance that 18th century governants gave the trades, institutions providing the learning of manual skills were given more importance. Learning of trades and manual skills had traditionally been a privilege of the guilds, in which learning was indistinguishable from apprenticeship.

Practical measures to engage women in spinning included the creation of escuelas de hilazas, or spinning schools, where girls were taught to spin, lace making, embroidery, etc.

Governants assumed that this model had been accepted by Spanish society. An Interrogatorio sent in 1803 to all the towns by the government asked for the existing number of "separated schools for girls in which these are taught to Read and Write, and needlework." The Economic Society of Madrid had diverse schools for girls, including one for lace making.³⁶⁵

When the state organized in the 19th century a technical education, more directly linked to new work opportunities in qualified labour, women were systematically excluded from it. This exclusion had an important effect on women's access to the labour market and particularly, to the technical and better paid levels of wage labour, and in certain cases meant women's abandonment of traditionally female occupations, such as dairying.³⁶⁶

Yet the state plan of occupying women in textile manufacture was opposed by the guilds, traditionally in control of manufacturing production. The guilds,

³⁶⁵ On lace making in Spain, lace schools and the promotion of lace making as another suitable occupation for girls and women, Sarasúa, "La industria del encaje en el Campo de Calatrava".

³⁶⁶ In the Swedish dairy industry, the state shaped the gender division of labour not by a direct exclusion of women of a market activity, but by organizing technical education along gender lines. L. Sommestad, "Able Dairymaids and Proficient Dairymen: Education and De-Feminization in the Swedish Dairy Industry". The same process has been described for Ireland by Bourke, From Husbandry to Housewifery.

the institution that since the 16th century symbolized male control of market production, opposed the new reformist policy based on incorporating women to it.³⁶⁷ In Spain, conflicts were most evident in the areas where manufactures were more developed and had been traditionally regulated by the guilds, such as Valencia. During the 1770's conflicts with the government were always increasing. A report of the local Economic Society explained the reasons for the fierce opposition of the guilds in terms of work prices: "Until now, women wove the ribbons for the masters of the art, these paying them a very low price, and taking all the profit. But because in the day women can sell their works, or work for themselves, they ask for a fair compensation of their work."³⁶⁸

Deciding to reverse the guilds' control of the manufacturing production, Spanish Ilustrados published in 1784 a Real Orden allowing women "to work in whatever (...) trade they want, being compatible with the decency, decorum and strength of their sex." A year later, in his report to the Junta general de Comercio y Moneda on the "free exercise of the arts", Jovellanos remembered that the government's legislation had qualified women to perform any occupations that Nature allows them to, freeing them from the chains of guilds legislation.

The liberalization of labour is not to be seen as a rupture with the socio-economic order. Rather, as with the reformist economic policy in general, it was intended to serve as a means "to harmonize a relative growth (...) with the social stability that lies upon the concepts of order, discipline and hierarchy."³⁶⁹ Women's occupation was intended as a measure to improve the families' living conditions, not as a means to overturn the social relations.

³⁶⁷ The conflict between the guilds and reformist state policies on women's participation in production for the market was general to 18th century Europe. For England, Clark, Working life of women. For Germany, Jean H. Quataert, "The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648-1879".

³⁶⁸ F. Díez, Viles y mecánicos. Trabajo y sociedad en la Valencia preindustrial, p. 162.

³⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 181.

3. The resulting supply of wage labour

3. a. Wage differentials.

In describing income-pooling it has already been seen that wages played a relatively small part in the peasant economy of the 18th and 19th centuries. Describing the apparently complete proletarianization of day labourers in the large estates of Calabria, Petrusiewicz notes:

Se si prende come indicatore della proletarianizzazione il grado in cui la sussistenza dipendeva dal salario e la percezione soggettiva che i braccianti avevano della propria condizione, il quadro cambia. Il salario, infatti, non costituiva né la fonte esclusiva, né primaria della sussistenza delle famiglie bracciantili. Prima di tutto, data la breve durata delle stagioni e il livello dei salari, questi non sarebbero comunque stati sufficienti. Una famiglia di braccianti di cui tutti i membri partecipassero del lavoro asalariato (l'uomo in due o tre squadre, la moglie vendemmiando e raccogliendo le olive, le figlie nelle bigattiere e nelle filande, i ragazzi raccogliendo frutta e olive) avrebbe potuto guadagnare una quarentina di ducati in un anno, mentre il minimo necessario per la sussistenza decente di un solo adulto (...) ammontava già a circa trentasei ducati. Ma se i braccianti, per quanto poveri, non erano ridotti alla miseria (...) ciò era dovuto al fatto che essi non dipendevano solo dai salari: erano, infatti (...) membri o capi di piccole economie familiari volte all'autoconsumo e in buona parte indipendenti dalla circolazione monetaria.³⁷⁰

As wages are usually understood as a market mechanism, an outcome of the combination of supply and demand forces, their role in the formation of a gendered supply of labour should be represented as one of the *causes* of this supply. Instead, wage differentials (the fact that women were usually paid less than half the wages received by men for comparable work), will be here discussed as one of the *results* of custom and traditional conceptions of the organization of work between men and women rather than of market forces.

I focus here on two aspects of wage differentials: first, the extent to which female wages were insufficient to maintain themselves and their dependants (often children). In a context of very reduced work opportunities for women, female wages systematically below the level required to maintain an adult individual, have been argued to have had the effect of reinforcing women's need

³⁷⁰ M. Petrusiewicz, *Latifondo*, p. 150.

to marry as the only way to survive.

The second consideration is the role that wage differentials might have played as a symbol of the different status of men and women. They have given rise to different theories, one of the most widely accepted being that of the "different needs."

In recent years our knowledge of gender differentiated wage rates has improved, as studies on real wages in the past are more numerous. Although exact wages rates are difficult to know, it is generally accepted that women's wages were around 50 % of men's until some decades ago.³⁷¹

In Spain, female agricultural wages were from about 50 to 80 % of male agricultural wages.³⁷²

The following are the available data on male and female wages for the three economies studied here.

3. a. 1. Wages in Montes de Pas

In the mid-18th century, wage labour was limited in the Pasiego region to very few cases of agricultural and domestic servants, whose wages seem to have varied widely. Table III. 6. shows the seven instances of wage work found in the documentation.

For instance, in 1752 the two parish priests of San Pedro del Romeral had female domestic servants, one earning 4 ducados, the other 12,5 ducados. A similarly extreme difference existed in the wages reported for the three

³⁷¹ Mathias, "Leisure and Wages in Theory and Practice", in The Transformation of England. At the beginning of the 20th century, women's wages were 46 % of men's in Italy in 1911 and 44,4 % in Great Britain. Zamagni, "An International Comparison of Real Industrial Wages, 1890-1913: Methodological Issues and Results", in Scholliers (ed.), Real Wages, p.124.

³⁷² Ward reports a usual wage of 4 to 5 reales per day for men and 2 to 3 for women in 1762. Ward, Proyecto económico, p.164. In 1820, Catalan harvesters were earning 15 sueldos if they were men and 7,5 if they were women. The same year a servant of a large Catalan property was paid 70 libras per year if he was a man and 16 libras and a pair of shoes, or 18 libras, if she was a woman. Vicedo, "Las condiciones de reproducción de la unidad familiar campesina en la Catalunya Nova: las 'Terres de Lleida'", Noticiario de Historia Agraria, pp.43-66.

agricultural servants of Vega de Pas, which ranged from 44 reales to 110 reales per year.

Table III. 6. Evolution of male and female wages in Montes de Pas

Year	Occupation	Place	Female wages (annual)	Male wages
1752	farm servant	Vega de Pas		44 reales
	id			66 reales
	id			110 reales
	priest	Vega de Pas		550 reales
1752	domestic servant	San Pedro	4 ducados	
	id		12,5 ducados ³⁷³	
1837-1857	domestic servant	Vega de Pas	316 reales ³⁷⁴	

This suggests that wages were established through personal agreements that reflected more the personal characteristic of the individuals (their age, their personal relation with the master in the case of servants) than a theoretical 'value' of their work. In other words, nothing similar to a market for labour existed in Pas.

Although the few data on wages renders impossible any attempt to identify trends in wages, it provides a reference point for the comparison of local wages with urban wages. From this we can deduce the convenience of temporary outmigration of Pasiego women to work as wet nurses in Madrid. In the 1780's and 1790's wages of wet-nurses in Madrid were between 60 and 150 reales per month. Pasiego wet nurses, who were among the best paid, could earn at the end

³⁷³ Arroyo, "Noticias inéditas de la villa de San Pedro del Romeral a mediados del siglo XVIII", p. 313.

³⁷⁴ Of which 300 were paid in cash and 16 with a pair of shoes. Archivo Municipal de Vega de Pas. Account book kept by Vega de Pas parish priests, Diego and Manuel Diego Madrazo, from 1830 to around 1855.

of the 18th century an annual income of 1.800 reales. ³⁷⁵ Around the 1850's, their annual earnings could have been around 1.440 reales. ³⁷⁶

3. a. 2. Wages in Almagro

The Cadaster provides the daily wages of each group of workers or acitivity. These figures responded only very partially to actual daily wages paid, because most of the workers were not day labourers. In order to make wages comparable, a calculation was made by the officials on the basis of the annual earnings of the workers. The long list of artisans's "wages" in Almagro presents important differences that reveal individual performance as much as social consideration.

Table III. 7. Almagro, wages of artisans (reales per day), 1752.

	Masters	Officials	Apprentices
Artisans			
I group	6 - 5,5 - 5	6-2	3-0
II group	4,5 - 4 - 3,5	4-2	1
III group	3 - 2,5	3-1	1-0
Services	3 - 1		

³⁷⁵ Comparison between wages of servants and other workers is meaningful only if the monetary equivalent of the payment in kind (food, lodge, clothes) that servants received is included. In this case, domestic service appears, despite the longer working day, as a good choice for women even in the last decades of the 19th century, and as a less good choice for men, who had many other opportunities, with higher wages and less working hours. The different significance that domestic service had for men and women helps to explain the feminisation of the sector in all European countries during the 19th century.

³⁷⁶ Benefits and premiums were also frequent. Former parents usually provided references and it was not uncommon for the wet nurse to stay at the former parents' house while looking for a new family in later periods of migration. This personal relation seems to have had important material consequences: the baby's parents became protectors for the wet nurse's family and helped her and the members of her family to solve bureaucratic problems, the military service of the sons, or to start some small business in Madrid.

The first group (12 occupations) corresponds to two types of manufacturers: those who catered for the social elite (the Church and the nobility), such as tailors, boot makers, pastry cooks, chocolate maker, wax makers, sculptor, and gold plater. And those whose work either required special skills (locksmith, veterinarian) or was protected by the guild's monopoly (meat official, cloth weaver).

In the second group (19 occupations) only "bread makers of white bread" earned 4,5, while boiler makers, blacksmith, barber, shoemakers, skins preparers, cloth millers, cord makers, and carpenters earned 4 reales each, and lime makers and plastercast makers earned 3,5 reales.

The third group (10 occupations) had daily wages that ranged from the 3 made by bread makers, barbers and esparto grass maker, to the 2,5 of flour millers and powder makers. The presence of highly skilled workers in this last group, or workers who worked for the social elite, such as the silversmith, the hat maker or the gunsmith, is justified by the Cadaster because of their "little selling", or "their little work". Highly valued items, such as guns or silver objects, were probably purchased by the local elites outside their places of residence, in capital towns. And since the Cadaster was not reporting actual "wages" of artisans, but calculating a daily wage based on their annual earnings, artisans selling little for whatever reason appear as earning a very low salary.

Daily wages of non artisan labourers went from 3 reales of skilled esquiladores, to the 2,5 of cobblers and rangers, the 2 of the mailmen, the nun's messengers, coachers and game guards. Lowest wages were 1 real earned by the private houses messengers. "Servants and sons of muleteers gain 2 reales per day each".

"Wages" calculated for agricultural labourers went from the 3 of foremen and farmers working their own farm, the 2,5 of day labourers, gardeners and mayores de ganado, the 2 of farmers' sons, caseros de casas de campo, mayores de ganados, to the 1,5 of sons and servants, "sons of stockbreeders", "destetadores de muletos", the 1 of ayudantes, and 0,5 of sobrados.

Agricultural wages were for the most part calculated, with two exceptions: day labourers and workers in the flocks. It has already been seen how these

formed a privileged group within wage workers of Almagro, because their wages were high, and especially because of the work conditions: permanent jobs during the year, contracts almost automatically renewed each year, possibility of taken with them sons or young relatives who eventually became wage workers themselves, and the practice of owning and raising some sheep in the owner's flock.

Table III. 8. Wages of workers in the flock of count of Valparaíso, 1752 (reales)

	daily	annual
1 maioral de mula	6	2.190
14 ravadanes	1,5	547,5
14 compañeros	1	365
14 ayudadores	1	365
14 zagales	1	365
17 escoteros	1	365
1 administrador	3	1.095
1 maioral o capataz	3	1.095
1 maioral de los ganados	3	1.095

Differences between wages of workers with very similar work are very high, but the wage pattern of flock workers seems to have been similarly structured everywhere ³⁷⁷. Again, wages seem to correspond to different work hierarchies more than to real differences in work load or skills.

These were the 'fixed' or official wage rates. There is also some evidence

³⁷⁷ Llopis, "La cabaña trashumante del Monasterio de Guadalupe: historia, funcionamiento y resultados".

Annual wages of the flocks workers in Guadalupe, 1752 (reales)

	money (%)	kind (%)	total
mayoral	1420	1650	3170
manaderos	240		597
zagales	229		575
temporeros (monthly)	102		

on the wages earned by workers, and declared by them in their Memoriales.

Table III. 9. Almagro. Male and female annual wages in 1752 (reales)

		age	status	
Male	agricultural servant	12	U	60
	farmer's son	15	U	90
	gardener of Jesuits	64	W	140
	sacristan of ermit		W	160
	hortelano	40		200
	cattle worker of the count	18	U	280
	cattle worker	25	U	300
Fem	domestic servant	20	U	70
	domestic servant of a nun	18	U	40
	id		U	80
	id		U	100
	laundress		M	150

Other references to female wages are from later decades. In 1790 wet nurses paid by the Town Council earned 60 reales.³⁷⁸ In 1856, women were earning 6 to 8 cuartos a day gleaning grain and olives.

Earnings of lace makers are very difficult to calculate. Lace was sold by piece, but its price depended on its width, the complexity of the pattern, and the quality of the thread.³⁷⁹

Earnings of lace makers were probably very low, but during the first half of

³⁷⁸ "Each month is payed to the wet-nurse who nurses them sixty reales". "Expediente formado sobre Lactancia y crianza de Niños expósitos en el Priorato de Calatrava", AHN, Consejos, 2520/9.

³⁷⁹ In 1780, "the more expensive lace was between 5 to 6 reales", according to Larruga, *Memorias*, t.XVII, p.302. In 1804, between 7 cuartos and 69 reales the *vara*, that was equivalent to 83,5 cm. *Almanak Mercantil* 1804, p. 422, quoted in García Rupérez, "La industria textil en Castilla-La Mancha durante el siglo XVIII", p.380. A lace maker employed a whole morning in making a fourth of a vara (20 cm.) of a simple, narrow lace ("en hacer una cuarta de puntilla se va una mañana. Casi, descontado lo que nos cuesta el hilo, no sacamos para arrimar el puchero a la lumbre"). Pardo-Bazán, *La Tribuna* (1882), p.57.

the 19th century, when demand for lace reached its peak and lace 'factories' flourished in Almagro, skilled lace makers were able to sell their lace pieces at a good price. A similar situation to that described for other European lace areas, where wages higher than normal female wages provoked the immigration of women to those areas ³⁸⁰. In the next chapter the organization of the lace industry is described, as well as the role played by the price of lace in the demand for lace makers.

Despite the discontinuities in data on wages, existing information seems to suggest the fundamental role that earnings from lace making had for Campo de Calatrava. Workers of the flocks, who appear as the 'aristocracy' of male workers, with their stable employments and wages higher than those of the rest, were described by contemporaries as having wives occupied on domestic textile manufacturers. ³⁸¹

Wages of day labourers, much lower and only paid some months of the year, were even more insufficient to maintain families. In fact, 74% of the family's income in 18th century La Mancha has been regarded as having an origin other than agricultural. ³⁸²

3. a. 3. Wages in Rute

Agricultural wages were strictly regulated by the Concejo in Rute. In 1774, a list of 22 agricultural occupations, mainly in grain harvest, and grape and olive collection, was issued, in which daily wages went from 5 reales of the harvester to the 2,5 cuartos of the olives carriers.

According to these regulations, women only worked for wages in some

³⁸⁰ The development of lace production in England accounted for a distinct demographic (later age of marriage for women, higher % of single women) and residence (more women heading households) pattern of lace making areas. Sharpe, "A Womanly Accomplishment".

³⁸¹ Vida pastoril. por Don Manuel del Río, vecino de Carrascosa. provincia de Soria. Ganadero trashumante. y Hermano del Honrado Concejo de la Mesta [1833].

³⁸² Donézar, p. 173. Dobado, Rafael, "Salarios y niveles de vida en Almadén entre mediados de los siglos XVIII y XIX".

specific tasks of the grape and olive collection. Only one occupation is identified with male and female wages, "arrancador/a de semillas". Male earned 3 reales a day and women 2. ³⁸³

It was common to pay as well for the worker's food, this being 4 onzas of oil every 3 men, "sal y vinagre lo preciso". With these ingredients and few tomatoes or other vegetables they could prepare a gazpacho, the traditional lunch for day labourers in Andalucía.

In work where a horse or mule was employed, this was also "paid", in money and food. Barzinadores received 2 rs. for the bestia besides the 3 rs. for their own work. Cortadores de uva en las vendimias received 1,5 rs. and one tenth of a fanega de cebada for the beast, besides his own 2 rs.

In 1816 the guards earned 6 reales a day. ³⁸⁴

Discussion of the differentials between male and female wages must also include the occupational structure, for this has traditionally accounted for an important percentage of the wage differential, since sectors defined as 'women's work' were always lower paid.

An example is spinning itself. Despite being praised for its moral qualities, its fundamental importance for the State and defined as the best possible work to be performed by women, no attempt was ever made to guarantee good wages for spinners.

Writing about the textile manufactures in Santander in late 18th century, Ilustrado J. M. mentioned that "many became rich with them, but it is at the cost of the more miserable, that is, of that who buys it, and of that who spins it (...) she works almost for free." ³⁸⁵ He goes on to recognize that "there are Poor people who content themselves with little so as not to perish completely" and that very low wages prevented more women from engaging in this occupation.

By the mid-19th century, wage differentials between women and men

³⁸³ "Tasación que hace el cabildo de los trabajos agrarios" (1774), in G. Jiménez, Textos para la historia de Rute, p.54 and fol.

³⁸⁴ AHN, Consejos, leg 3.365/30.

³⁸⁵ J.M., Estado de las fábricas, comercio, industria, p.229.

were already perceived as

one of the major or more serious injustices committed (...) the scandalous imbalance that results from the lack of proportion and fairness with which wages are distributed among individuals of both sexes belonging to the proletarian class; of which disproportion and lack of fairness we continuously notice the most terrible and disastrous consequences (...) the few women who had the virtue of resigning themselves to live out of their hands, live obliged, almost in their totality, to almost beg half of their lives in order to barely cover their most primary needs (...) From here follows that multitude of consortiums, that are verified without the slightest idea of what love is form the part of the partners, that accept without hesitation a possible disgrace, the extent of which they ignore, to save themselves from another disgrace horrible and too well known (...) we cannot help but lamenting that such an enormous and unfair difference between the maximum of the wages given to women and the minimum of those generally given to men be established, especially when the importance, the perfection or the type of work performed by each one is not kept into account.”³⁸⁶

The example of the silk manufacturers of Valencia, the center of Spanish silk production, is central to an understanding of how wages were established when, at the end of the 18th century, liberalization of ther labour market began.

One of the effects sought after the policies tending to liberalize the guild's control over the manufactures was the increase in the participation of women in the industrial labour force.

Although women's work played a fundamental role in the first stages of silk manufacturing, their wages were extremely low, a point that has been identified as one of the causes of the decline of this manufacture “given the tendency of women's wages to maintain themselves low, and the increasing cost of living in these years”, women added sustances such as oil in order to obtain a heavier silk, hence lowering the quality of the silk woven.

When the government abolished in 1793 the guild of silk weavers, it was with the total agreement of the silk merchants, who saw in this change the possibility of replacing women with men, and hence of increasing their rate of profit. But “the market interests of merchants-fabricants entered in contradiction with the defence, by masters weavers, of a remuneration *adequate to their*

³⁸⁶ Margarita Pérez de Celis, article published in *El nuevo pensil de Iberia*, Cádiz, December, 10, 1857. Quoted in García-Nieto and Yllán, *Historia de España 1808-1978. Textos*, vol. 1, p. 112.

traditional status." 387

In other words, wages were not established by the market, or not only by it, but rather had to conform to the *status* of individuals. 388

There are two factors always present in analyses of men's and women's wages: their "different needs", and their different skill. Both arguments act as justifications or implicit explanations of the wage differentials.

The skill argument is in fact much utilised even in accounts of contemporary wage differentials. "Everywhere we turn, we see a clear distinction between 'men's work' and 'women's work', with women's work almost invariably characterized by lower pay, lack of craft traditions, weak union organization, and --above all-- unskilled status. Wherever women workers are, whatever jobs they do, they nearly always find themselves occupying the lowest rung on the skill ladder, earning wages which are commensurate, it is claimed, with the low level of training, ability or concentration required for the job." 389

The devaluation of women's work and the valuation of men's work are but results of the different value of men and women as social individuals, a different value that stems from their position in the family. Is this non-market hierarchy what explains that any task done by a woman appears as having less (market) value than the same task done by a man. Skill, as well as other characteristics of work, is constructed. 390

Wages were, in definitive, "a social rather than a theoretical construct" 391.

"That men ought to be able to support wives and daughters implied that

387 Díez, "La crisis gremial y los problemas de la sedería valenciana (ss. XVIII-XIX)".

388 Hobsbawm, "Custom, Wages and Work-load in Nineteenth-century Industry", in Labouring Men. Studies in the History of Labour.

389 A. Phillips and B. Taylor, "Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics", p. 79.

390 "the classification of women's jobs as unskilled and men's jobs as skilled or semi-skilled frequently bears little relation to the actual amount of training or ability required for them. Skill definitions are saturated with sexual bias. The work of women is often deemed inferior simply because it is women who do it. Women workers carry into the workplace their status as subordinate individuals, and this status comes to define the value of the work they do." Phillips and Taylor, *Ibidem*, p. 79.

391 Kessler-Harris, A Woman's Wage. Historical Meanings and Social Consequences, p. 7.

women need not engage in such support. They ought to be performing home duties. Thus, if a woman earned wages, the normal expectation was that that she did so to supplement those of other family wage earners (...) The nineteenth century fight for a family wage was thus simultaneously a fight for a social order in which men could support their families and receive services of women; and women, dependent on men, could stay out of the labour force." ³⁹²

In other words, family wages and, before that, wage differentials were expression of a social order, not the result of market mechanisms. "Part of the function of the female wage was to ensure attachment to family. The male wage, in contrast, provided incentives to individual achievement. It promoted geographical mobility and sometimes hinted at the possibility of social mobility as well. (...) As the renowned economist Alfred Marshall put it, a higher wage for women might be "a great gain in so far as it tends to develop their faculties, but an injury in so far as it tempts them to neglect their duty of building up a true home, and of investing their efforts in the personal capital of their children's character and abilities.""³⁹³

3. b. Gendered patterns of social mobility

Family expenses in children's education were decided to a large extent according to families' expectations of social mobility. The possibility of climbing up the social ladder was a characteristic phenomenon in the 18th century, related to the increasing possibilities for enrichment through commerce and positions in the expanding state's bureaucracy.

What the notion of social ladder expresses is nothing more than the individuals' *potential* access to social resources. This access, this thesis argues, is not regulated individually, but collectively. Male and female social ladders developed from a completely different basis and the expression of the differential access to resources was one of the basis of the gender system. While the male

³⁹² Kessler, Ibidem, p. 9.

³⁹³ Kessler, Ibidem, p.19.

social ladder was increasingly related to occupation, that is, to the labor market, the female social ladder was restricted to the husband's occupation, that is, to a convenient marriage.

These completely different social ladders would explain the different interest that education of male and female children had for families with limited resources: while expenditure on the education of female children made no sense, expenditure on the education of male children were regarded as an investment.

Yet some of the features of the 18th and 19th century pattern of family spending on education do not fit this explanation. On the one hand, expenditure on male children's education went well beyond the financial possibilities of the families and seems to have corresponded more to families' expectations of climbing up the social ladder than with an actual market demand for skilled labour. Moreover, these expectations were not expectations of earnings.

On the other hand, middle class families, with resources sufficient to educate both their female and male children, consistently failed to educate their female children. Elements other than limited resources seem to have played a role in the male/female pattern of education of children.

In the first decades of the 19th century, a commonplace for moralists was the criticism of the insistence of the lower and middle classes upon educating their sons. According to these critics, negative outcomes of this insistence included an excessive student population in University towns such as Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela or Granada, excessive expenditure of their families' resources, an excess of "qualified" male population, such as functionaries or priests, regarded as non productive, and the subsequent and traditional lack of manual workers.

In a popular manual of this time, significantly entitled "On the consequences of the good and the bad education in the various destinies of society", education of sons is discussed as the most important choice made by families, and one that affects the entire social structure.

Of the 'moral examples' proposed by the book, the one corresponding to the "Farmers" contrasts Tomás, a farmer's son trying to move up the social ladder by getting an official position at the court, to Francisco, a farmer's son who

becomes a farmer himself. The first one is taken by his good father to Madrid, with a friend who is "a court man, who treated Counsellors, Ministers and Grandees with the greatest familiarity, who was very rich and who had placed many persons of all classes in high positions." ³⁹⁴ In Madrid Tomás gets involved with bad company, gambles until he loses everything, and his father has to come to pick him up in jail. "In the six years that Tomás was in Madrid, Francisco made such advances in his farming that he became the model and admiration of all his townsmen."

The second 'moral example' corresponds to the "Menestrales" or manual workers, and opposes Blas, a discreet shoe-maker, to Andrés, a lazy tailor, both in Andalucía. Blas and his wife were parents of José, "applied to the same work as his father", while Andrés and his wife were parents of Ruperto, a 14 year old "studying Latin Grammar, in which he made less progresses than in guitar and dance". Ruperto's mother deeply despises his husband's class, and she argues with José's mother, who significantly is a Montañesa, very proud of both her shoe-maker ancestors and her noble status. In the middle of the argument an old local hidalgo intervenes to agree with the Montañesa, pointing that "there is no reason to despise the class of manual workers. The King has honoured it, the Nation appreciates and needs it and if it has not yet obtained the consideration it deserves, it is because the bad behaviour of many of its individuals prevents it." (p. 73).

While Ruperto is sent to Granada, to the "dangerous sea of the University, where many perish in comparison with the few who reach salvation", José is taught the work of shoe-maker. Some years later, Ruperto has depleted his family savings after years in Granada drinking and gambling, and the old hidalgo is called as a counselor. When he advises Ruperto's family to teach him the family work of tailor, the mother protests:

³⁹⁴ Aquilino Palomino, Ejemplos morales o las consecuencias de la buena y de la mala educación en los varios destinos de la sociedad, Madrid, 1827, p. 17.

-- "Could not Ruperto be a lawyer, or at least boticario?
 -- "No, my lady: Rupertito would finish the little money that you have, and he would be a lazy man."
 -- "(...) You want no students in Spain."
 -- "You are wrong. I know that the Church needs Shepherds and Ministers, the Tribunales magistrates, the accused lawyers, etc. , and that all of them must come from among the students; but I also know what the situation of the families must be, and how much prudence and reflection they need to dispatch their sons to the study of humanities. In the town where I have been these days, of around 200 householders, there are at least 30 Latin students, and the parents of 20 of them do not know what to do with them. Already workshy, and used to leisure, they are almost useless for agriculture and trades, corrupters of good manners, spenders of inheritances, and nothing more. This lack of good elementary schools, and this abundance of priests... How can it be? (...) let establish a general reform of this house. Women must abandon entertainments and daily walks, and apply themselves to s ew, that I will find someone who give them some money to earn. Ruperto has to come back to his family, and become a tailor: this is a very decent work, and not difficult to learn. Last, the friend Andr es [the father] can still occupy himself on something useful, and I will provide him with it, if he promises forever to abandon the taverns..."

A third example contrasts two students in Salamanca: Carlos, the son of a "discreet, noble and rich farmer" from Extremadura, is sent to the University to study Law. At his departure, he assures his parents that he does not intends to become a student "in order to be idle, and spend without profit that part of my income you give to me for my food and the other expenses connected to my career"

While he becomes a charitable and intelligent priest, Ant on spent his years in Salamanca spending "in a short time the money he had in gambling, in feasts, and in other scandalous and indecent vices." (p. 121). He failed to finish his studies, like his friends, some of whom had "retired to their homes, others became soldiers, others became errant beggars, disguising themselves in a ridiculous and shameful manner, and still others went to the Court to increase there the number of inopportune pleaders and lazy pretenders."

Back in his town, Ant on "abandoned himself to vices so shamelessly, that he spent days and nights gambling, drinking and in liviandades, spending his income in such a way, that in a few years he was reduced to much poverty, often his miserable children and wife lacking bread." His former student companions finished their days "some in jail, some had to expatriate themselves fleeing from the Justice, and the rest of them in mendicity and ignominy."

These interesting descriptions consistently identified studies with heavy

expenditures. Young men, free from the control of parents and local society, became involved in urban patterns of male expenditure: gambling and drinking are frequently mentioned, prostitution is suggested. This is consistent with the pattern of expenditure described above in this chapter and confirms that male children enjoyed a remarkably greater access to family resources than their sisters. It suggests also that by the late 18th century, a 'studying' period had become a stage in the life-cycle of an increasing number of men, not just the privilege of a few.

It is a fact that widespread failure to finish studies (or to achieve the parents' expectations of upward mobility through these studies) did not lead to a change in this tendency, and artisans and farmers continued to send their sons to Grammar school or even to the University. This indicates that "expectation of achievement" was not the only reason that led families to do these heavy expenses. Male children were in fact seen as entitled to them, as part of their process of socialization as men.

Families became involved in them due to a notion of honour that led them to reject manual trades for their sons. Families are warned about these risks. Furthermore, rejection of manual trades is described as deeply uneconomic: much more money is made through trades than through studies. But clearly the reason of sending sons to the Universities was *not* an economic reason.

Even if family expectations were often unrealistic and after long years of University sons ended up as servants in the town, families invested in their sons' education expecting them to move up in the social hierarchy, in a reasoning based more upon traditional notions of honour than upon modern notions of profit.

In Almagro, upwards mobility was searched through service to nobility, the model being the professional career of the two sons of Doña Marina Suárez, a noble widow of 48, with her oldest son, 31, gentleman of the Duke of Sexto, and the second, 24, paje del Marqués de los Valvases, both living in Madrid. The two daughters lived with her in Almagro.

Or through studies, like Joseph Ossorio Mesía, noble landowner and high

official of the local Inquisición, who had three female servants and two male servants at home, and three sons: the eldest, 21, was official de caballería in Barcelona, the second, 18, studied Law in Granada, while the third, 12, studied Grammar in Almagro. The daughters, 22 and 16, were at home.

Yet in fact a relationship existed between education and access to wage work. Long before the rise of a demand of qualified labour, education was already the most important source of social mobility, allowing employment in the Church, the Army, the State administration or the personal service to noble families.

A comparison of the three cases presented in this thesis suggests that in where a more diversified professional structure had long existed and wage labour was a privileged form of labour, families to use the educative system as a means for their sons to move up in the social ladder. Higher expectations of social mobility through the labour market led Almagro

Patterns of male mobility cannot be explained without reference to traditional values. For the noble population, which included not only the landed nobility, but a important low nobility, the hidalgos, honour was achieved through the non performance of manual work.³⁹⁵ Spanish despal of menial work has been seen as one of the causes, for instance, of the continuous immigration of French people into Spain in the 18th century.³⁹⁶

This model was most visible in towns like Almagro, where nobles provided, with their presence, wealth and life style, a model for the rest of the

³⁹⁵ "Traditionally, noble forced to abandon their native province left, in the words of an old refrain, 'for the church or the sea, the war or the royal household'." Callahan, Honor, commerce and industry in eighteenth century Spain, p.21.

³⁹⁶ "It is easy to explain a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century movement into Spain by reference to the wealth of that country; it is less easy to opt for that reason in the eighteenth-century, where contemporaries were agreed that the poverty of the Spanish day labourer was unsurpassed." After noting that French immigrants came not to the richer Catalan coast, but to Aragón, Andalucía and some Castilian towns, Hufton mentions the opinions of contemporaries, who noted that Spanish "were a proud people who would not sink to the lowly, menial, often filthy, labours of the French migrant (...) they were pedlars, carriers of water and wood, lemonade sellers, vendors of fancy breads, carriers of sedan chairs, and pedlars of haberdashery. They were prepared to sweep streets and empty latrines." Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-century France, p. 88.

population. It was much less important in places like Pas.

It would be wrong, however, to empty of all practical scope the decision of educating the male children. It is true that despisal of manual work and the desire for honourable positions explains why parents would send their male children to Grammar school rather than to workshops to learn a trade. This type of schooling, which we tend to interpret in terms of honourable, unpractical disciplines, responded to the high expectations of social mobility through the professional ladder.³⁹⁷

In the late 18th, the professor of Daimiel for over 42 years described how his successful work "has resulted in the *aprovechamiento y lucimiento de infinitos discípulos q.e ha sacado, y oy se hallan caracterizados, unos enseñando la Grammatica publicam.te, otros de Presb.s seculares y regulares, y otros empleados en servicio de su Mag.d assi en armas como en letras, y otros ultimam.te en empleos honoríficos por esta carrera, qual lo son Doctores y Licenciados...*".³⁹⁸

This was the idea of Palomino's successful students, who

shone in cathedrals and in the courts: from their number came the reformers of education, the builders of the sciences and *belles lettres* and recently one had the satisfaction of being charged with the health of the monarch and of his family's.³⁹⁹

Although education was perhaps the most valuable of all mechanisms permitting a move up the social ladder, it was not the only one. Women's exclusion from trades such as artisans, carpenters, tailors, is particularly relevant because they were, "not workers in the new factory industries, [who] dominated

³⁹⁷ Already in the 17th century, classic teaching was closed to women "based on the assumption that girls could hardly have any use for Latin and Greek since there was no possibility of their acceding to a profession, of holding office. They could not become lawyers, doctors, magistrates or priests." Huppert, "The social function of classical schooling in Renaissance France", in *Gerarchie economiche e gerarchie sociali, secoli XII-XVIII*, p. 664.

³⁹⁸ To prove his assertion, he included reports from the children's families, in which parents confirmed his good qualities, and the good results obtained by their sons after their studies, including jobs, official positions, etc.

³⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 153.

labour movements during the first decades of industrialization". 400

A segmented labour market was reinforced by the absence of a social ladder for women, prohibition of education and no access to professional, qualified activities. This was the case in the Swedish dairy industry, where the State shaped the gender division of labour not by a direct exclusion of women from a market activity, but by organizing technical education along gender lines.

401

The study of social mobility is traditionally based on the classification of individuals according to their occupation. Strategies of 18th and 19th century families in trying to achieve their children's upward mobility show the importance of criteria other than earnings in valuing occupations. Prestige was the most fundamental of these criteria. 402

Lack of professional opportunities for women made them dependant on marriage or, if unmarried, on their brothers, as Pardo Bazán described in late 19th century:

Imagine a middle class family, favoured by Nature with five or six daughters, and condemned by Destiny to live upon a salary or a poor rent. What are these girls going to do? Place themselves behind a counter? To have a profession, a job, any occupation? they would not be young ladies anymore (...) Remain in the paternal home, reduced to bad and poor eating, to suffer a thousand deprivations, to achieve two objects in which they place their only hope of a better future. First, that the brothers study and can 'today or tomorrow', serve them as shelter; second, two or three things in which to present themselves in public in a decorous manner, to see if the phoenix, the husband who will solve the situation appears... 403

400 Sewell, Work and revolution in France. The language of labour from the old regime to 1848, p. 1.

401 Sommestad, "Able Dairymaids and Proficient Dairymen: Education and De-Feminization in the Swedish Dairy Industry".

402 For an analysis of how gender shapes the social notion of occupational prestige in current labour markets, Bose, Jobs and Gender. A Study of Occupational Prestige.

403 Pardo Bazán, La mujer española, p. 49.

For those same years, Olóriz, a doctor interested in the causes of female illiteracy, suggested that "women's work" was in fact a *cause*, and not a *consequence*, of 'women's situation':

many families ready to make some small sacrifice to instruct their men, would never do it for their women, as it is a common principle that these do not need it to serve God, care for her home, and obey her husband, the only mission of almost all Spanish women. ⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ "El analfabetismo en España", published in 1900. Quoted in Núñez, La fuente de la riqueza, p. 249.

IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY: WORK IN AND OUTSIDE THE LABOUR MARKET

This chapter describes the evolution of the three local economies during the 19th century, and the transformation of their work organization at the end of the period studied. As in chapter I, quantitative data is used. Main sources are, for Vega de Pas, an amillaramiento of 1865, and a census roll of 1877; for Almagro, a census of 1801 and a cadaster of 1842; for Rute, the census of 1892. Sources chosen were in each case the most complete source of data on the occupational structure of the town.

The organization of labour existing in Spain in the second half of the 19th century was the result of local elements as much as of national and international political and economic developments.

Three of these developments had major consequences for peasant societies that can be recognized in the cases studied here. The first of them was the process of disentanglement of the land, or *desamortización*, that transformed the land property system.

The disentanglement is regarded as one of the major forces of social and economic change of 19th century Spain, and has been the subject of extensive historical research. Disentanglement, the placing in the market of the land, its privatization, has traditionally been interpreted as a measure expressive of the new power of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁰⁵ In fact, disentanglement has been identified with the "liberal revolution".

Yet recent research insists on two points that modify this interpretation: the first refers to the *causes* of the disentanglement measures, the first of which were taken in the last decades of the 18th century, by the very same reformist governants who were trying to sustain, not to overthrow, the ancien regime. Disentanglement measures were taken as a means to solve the financial crisis of the

⁴⁰⁵ This process is described at length in Garrabou, "Introducción", in A. García Sanz and R. Garrabou, *Historia agraria de la España contemporánea*, vol. 2.

state.⁴⁰⁶ In the words of Richard Herr, disentanglement was “the culminating act of of the absolute monarchy, not the introduction of an age to come”⁴⁰⁷.

The second argument points to the *effects* of the disentanglement measures. New local research is showing how the result of the disentanglement of the land during the 19th century was not the massive proletarianization of the peasantry, but rather a remarkable degree of permanence or even new access to small plots, with the result of an expansion of family farming, even in regions where large states and capitalist agriculture had been first regarded as the basis of the new agricultural system.⁴⁰⁸

For the purpose of our research, disentanglement of the land is relevant to the extent to which it brought about changes in the organization of work.

Changes in the land property system have been interpreting as the end of the customary access of peasants to common lands, access that had traditionally provided poor and landless families with means of survival. They also led to changes in the crop system, which modified the local demand for agricultural labour. Disentanglement transformed the land ownership system in those regions where either the church or the nobility were important landowners. As it will be seen below, it had an enormous importance in Campo de Calatrava, less in Rute, and was inexistent in Montes de Pas.

The second of the political events more deeply shaping Spanish peasant society during the 19th century was war, the decades of foreign and civil war

⁴⁰⁶ This is J. Fontana's interpretation in “Estado y hacienda en el ‘despotismo ilustrado’, in Estado, hacienda y sociedad en la Historia de España. More recently, Herr remained the connection between the disentanglement measures taken in the late 18th century and the political crisis caused by grain shortages: “Spurred on by urban riots in 1766, the king's counselors sought ways to provide more food for the cities. The information they had and their own reason told them that the solution was to multiply the small farmers and restrict the power and privileges of the large landowners. (...) Disentanglement was the most dramatic measure, seeking now fiscal salvation as well as rural reform.” Herr, Rural Change and Royal Finances, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁷ Herr, *Ibidem*. p. 3.

⁴⁰⁸ For a recent example of such conclusions, Martínez Martín, Revolución liberal y cambio agrario en la Alta Andalucía, where a study of three villages in the province of Granada leads this author to affirm that the selling of communal lands “created a very numerous number of small landowners”. Many of these appear in the census as day labourers. p. 340.

lived by most Spanish regions. After the war against Britain in 1796, in the first half of the 19th century, Spain went through two long wars: one, from 1808 to 1814 against the Napoleonic Army, and the second, from 1833 to 1840, between liberals and carlistas, the antiliberal reaction. These conflicts altered the process of formation of an internal labour market, interrupting communications, commercial activities and migratory flows. Moreover, they accelerated the financial crisis of the state which in turn reinforced the pressure for measures such as the disentanglement of the land.

The third factor of change was the growth of an internal market. Domestic manufactures, in particular Catalan textiles and agricultural products such as wines, whose 'natural' market had been for centuries the American colonies, reorganized themselves after the loss of the protected colonial market. References to traders and manufactures from other regions increased during these decades, eventually leading to the disappearance of non- competitive local manufactures. Textile manufactures such as those from Rute and Almagro resulted deeply affected by the increasing competition of Catalan textile production.

It is assumed that the evolution of the organization of work during the 19th century followed a pattern of increasing proletarianization. The demographic growth was a consolidated feature of Spanish economic basis at the end of the 18th century, and resulted in growing migratory flows, and urban growth.⁴⁰⁹ This process would have set the basis to the expansion of industry.

Yet little is known about how these political and economic developments were actually shaping, or being shaped by, the existing work organizations. Pan Montojo has showed, for instance, that labourers and work was not a problem

⁴⁰⁹ The rate of growth had been 0,32 % between 1717-1752, 0,31 between 1752-1787, and 0,64 % between 1787-1826. As in other European countries, this demographic growth was caused by vegetative growth, in turn achieved through the fall of mortality rates, particularly child mortality rates. An increase in agricultural production during the 18th century has been seen at the basis of this growth. E. Fernández de Pinedo, "Coyuntura y política económicas", in Fernández de Pinedo et al., Centralismo, ilustración y agonía del Antiguo Régimen (1715-1833), p. 19.

for the Parliament during decades, and only day labourers then. 410

This chapter follows the three peasant economies described in previous chapters and attempts to answer the following question: How did the new work opportunities stemming from the dynamic economic environment of the 19th century transformed the 18th century work organization? And, at the same time, to what extent the existing work organizations permitted, prevented, or in any case conditioned, the economic developments that took place?

In Pas, limitations imposed by agricultural returns, that is, the impossibility of increasing the productivity of the soil dedicated to pastures, reinforced the tendency of part of the Pasiego inhabitants to live upon sources of earnings other than livestock. Traditional chains of temporary migration to Madrid and other cities developed into an intensification of commercial and services activities of Pasiego men and women in Madrid. The transformation of cattle breeding developed into a new business, the family *vaquerías* in Madrid, which appear as the last link of this chain.

Increasing urban demand for Pasiego wet nurses meant the development of a specialization that had important economic consequences for Pasiego villages. Wet nursing became increasingly important as a source of earnings for Pasiego families and evidence shows close links between these two activities, as well as other forms of temporary out migrations. The economic transformation of the area during the century took place by reinforcing, not dissolving, the family mode of production.

The region around Almagro was the most negatively affected of the three by the changes occurred during the 19th century. The social and economic basis of Campo de Calatrava, deeply rooted in the power of the religious orders and the nobility, were falling apart already at the end of the 18th century. However, the region lived a period of unprecedented economic expansion based on manufacturing production during the first half of the century, when the demand for lace, a traditional female domestic manufacture, expanded.

⁴¹⁰ Juan Pan Montojo, "El trabajo y el mercado de trabajo en las Cortes del primer XIX", paper presented at the Jornadas sobre parlamentarismo, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma, 1994.

Rute experienced changes in the crops of the large estates that were to a large extent the characteristic of the Andalusian region as a whole: the expansion of plowed lands and, as a result of the increasing commercial character of the crops, the substitution of grain for olive trees. The chapter analyzes to what extent these changes led to changes in the demand for agricultural labour, to what extent this continued to be a temporary demand, or, on the contrary, day labourers had access to small plots, hence their dependance of this temporary demand become less intense.

Local industries of transformation of agricultural production, such as waterfires and olive oil, replaced the traditional textile activity. Evidence indicates that these new industries employed only male workers. Domestic production of pork products continued to be an important source of income for Rute working families.

This chapter describes the organization of labour that emerged from these developments, the way in which peasant societies responded to the new demands and possibilities. As the pre existing organization of labour has been defined as family-based, it attempts to answer to what extent these new wage work opportunities affected the status of the different members of the peasant families, men and women.

The census rolls show that in the areas where families depended more heavily upon wage work, such as Almagro and Rute, more women defined themselves as "without occupation", that is, as unpaid houseworkers, than in areas of family farms, where most of the labour done by the family members was unpaid, and opportunities of wage work were much less. What was the relationship between the evolution of the demand for wage labour and the increasing existence of women defined as domestic workers?

1. Montes de Pas.

The demographic trend of Montes de Pas seems to have contradicted the general trend of growth described by the rest of the country for the 19th century.

Table IV. 1. Demographic evolution of Vega de Pas

	Householders	Inhabitants	coeff.
1752	648	2.916?	4,5
1865	322	1.449	4,5
1877	487	2.170	4,5

To account for this decline in the population, I will review in the following pages the evolution of the traditional sources of income. The first of them is dayring, for whom the little evidence available indicates a diminishment of profits.

During the first decades of the 19th century, production and selling of dairy produce in the Santander market became a profitable activity for Pasiego women. Men and women from the Pasiego towns are recorded as well selling products other than dairy in Santander ⁴¹¹, but these became to be known as typically Pasiego.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the town Council of Santander kept a daily record of incidences related to market activities and a weekly record of market prices of the articles regularly sold. This list included some 30 articles, among which "fresh cheese made by Pasiego women" ("queso fresco de Pasiegas"), and "fresh butter made by Pasiego women" ("manteca fresca de Pasiegas"). Production of cheese and butter was still in these years regarded as a specialization of Pasiego women, who would also carry them to the city of Santander, always by walking. ⁴¹² They were grouped at the market, at the "stand

⁴¹¹ On March, 1822, Pasiegas María Cobo and Juliana Cobo are mentioned as sellers, as well as a Pasiego man who had sold a veil. On July of that year, "the pasiego Manuel Gutiérrez, from San Roque, seller of cheese and butter", is mentioned. On October 6, four Pasiegas were fined for having the peso mal. On October, 13, a Pasiega was taken away a cuévano (the Pasiego carrying basket) full of wild pears.

⁴¹² María Cobo, of San Roque de Riomiera, gave birth in 1898 in her way to the Santander market. She used the strap of her sandal to tie the umbilical cord and then she carried on her way. Oral interview with her grandchildren, María and Luis Cobo, Madrid, 1994.

of the Pasiego women", as it is called on the records. No cheese other than Pasiego cheese was sold.

Pasiego cheese and butter was carried and sold in other urban markets as well. In mid-19th century, "butter from La Vega de Pas" was among the products that consumers in Madrid regarded as the especialities of each region. ⁴¹³

1. a. Peddling and trading in fabrics and clothes as first stages of permanent migration.

Chapter II showed how Pasiegos were identified with peddling in fabrics already in the last decades of the 18th century. By the 19th century, this activity had continued, and it was seen as stimulating permanent migration to the cities:

Most inhabitants of these towns, having increased their population and being their land so insufficient, devote themselves to trade with linen and other textiles, and are settling themselves since years ago in all the towns (...) others go around fairs and markets ⁴¹⁴.

"Its inhabitants -wrote Madoz in 1859- known by the name of Pasiegos, devote themselves usually to the traffic of muslins and other fabrics, spreading through all the provinces of Spain."

Table IV. 2. shows the applications for trade licenses in Madrid by individuals from the province of Santander. The source is the *Inscripción de comerciantes* of Madrid from 1829, the year in which the Register was established, to 1837, when it dissapeared. It included retail as well as wholesale traders. As can be seen, trade on textiles appears as almost an specialization for

⁴¹³ "...Y como reina entre reinas,/y sultana entre sultanas, /regios presentes recibe/ de las provincias de España. / Ganosa de honra y provecho/allí le ofrece Vizcaya/ en numerosos cajones/gordas gallinas peladas./ Laredo, ansioso de dar/ a Jérez alguna raspa, /sus estimados y frescos/ besugos desembanasta./ Valencia y Murcia orgullosas/le rinden dulces naranjas, /Alicante sus turrone/ y sus corderos Navarra./La Vega de Pas, manteca; /miel exquisita la Alcarria, /Toledo sus mazapanes/ y Menorca sus granadas./ Villalón su queso fresco,/ Andalucía sus pasas,/ Extremadura, chorizos,/ Asturias sus avellanas, /Castilla la Vieja, pavos./ Galicia, carnes saladas, /Aranjuez, sus hortalizas, /Madrid, su sopa almendrada, /y sus más sabrosos vinos/ Yepes, Tarancón y Arganda...", J.J Villanueva, "La Plaza Mayor", *El Museo Universal*, 23 diciembre 1860.

⁴¹⁴ *Diccionario geográfico universal*, 1832.

traders from the province of Santander.

**Table IV. 2. Applications for trade licenses in Madrid by individuals
from Santander (1829-1837)**

		%
colonial products (chocolate)	27	27.8
textiles	56	57.7
iron manufactures	4	4.1
others (leather, etc.)	10	10.3
Total	97	100

Santander traders in Madrid concentrated in two well defined areas: colonial food products, particularly chocolate, which they imported through the port of Santander, and textile products (fabrics such as silks, linen, wool, and specially muslins, and clothes and small textile manufactures, such as ribbons and stockings). The traders were from most towns and villages of Santander, and only a certain especialization seems to identify traders from the valleys near Vizcaya with iron manufactures.

Of the 56 licenses issued to textile traders from Santander, five corresponded to people from Vega de Pas, this being the only town with more than two originals officially registered as traders in Madrid.⁴¹⁵ These five traders from Vega de Pas declared to occupy themselves in dealing with "linens and other retail goods". Unlike the rest of traders, Pasiegos had no stores; they declared to live in a house:

⁴¹⁵ Archivo de Villa, Madrid. Secretaría, 2a, 428, 1. The document consists of a general inventory and the applications of the merchants and traders, ordered in groups of 100, a total of 1103. Applications of Pasiegos are numbers 705, 717, 722, 726 and 853.

Table IV. 3. Pasiego traders in Madrid in 1830

no.	name	address
705	Juan Bautista Martínez	Concepción Gerónima, 15, qto. 3.
717	Manuela Laso	Concepción Gerónima, 16, qto. 35.
722	Manuel Pelayo	Concepción Gerónima, 16, qto. 10
726	José Martínez	Concepción Gerónima, 16, qto. 32.
853	José Pelayo	Plazuela de San Miguel, 9, qto 3.

This indicates either their character of street sellers or their function as providers of store owners, keeping their "quartos" or rooms as storehouses. Further, the fact that they all presented their applications filled by the same street writer, repeating the same data, and the extreme proximity of their residences (3 live in the same building, a fourth in front of the same street, the fifth very near them) show the existence of intense contacts among them. It suggests that, unlike other traders from Santander, Pasiego were not in Madrid as a result of an individual or family initiative of migration, but as pieces of a network involving the whole town.

Furthermore, the fact that all these distant traders from Vega de Pas were married indicates that Pasiego people engaged in long-distance itinerant trade as an occupation in their adult lives (not merely as an activity of their life-cycle) and also the short term character of these moves between Madrid and the Pas, where their families lived.

Pasiego women also traded with second-hand clothes, which they bought in France to sell in Spain. Lieutenant March, who published in 1852 his travel through Northern Spain, saw them:

"On entering a wayside-inn to light a cigar, we found ourselves in the midst of a group of females drinking aguardiente (brandy) and eating bread for breakfast. Their discordant voices, rough manners, tanned wrinkled faces, patched lemon-coloured petticoats, where

'Tawdry yellow strive with dirty red'
and other faded hues, rusty cloth jackets, and immense panniers strapped to their shoulders, proclaimed them to be pasiegas from the mountainous district of Santander, on their way to

Bayonne, to purchase second-hand wearing apparel for the purpose of retailing it again on their return home (...). Such is the ostensible calling of these Amazons, but smuggling is their principal one. They are followed at a distance by bands of husbands, brothers and kinsfolk, who station themselves at certain solitary and almost inaccessible points of the frontier, ready to receive the contraband goods purchased in France. The latter are fierce and cunning as wild cats, and as dexterous in the use of the cuchillo (knife) as of their tongues. They can walk their ten leagues a day, bearing huge loads of rags upon their backs, and are never molested, although known to possess more money than their wretched appearance would lead anyone to suspect. On the present occasion two of them carried cradles instead of panniers, in which we beheld to our astonishment two lovely chubby infants, fair skinned and plump as Murillo's cherubs. (...) It was almost impossible to believe that such exquisite little beings could be the children of these hags; yet such was the case. The fact is, that hard work out of doors, and exposure to all descriptions of weather give the pasiega an appearance of premature old age, without harming their robust constitutions. Hence this fine-baby phenomenon. We have been informed that these women are in great request in Spain as wet-nurses, and many a puny grandee, who has inherited a feeble system from ailing parents, owes life to the invigorating milk of these broad-beamed healthy peasants. When in the service of rich families, they wear their national costume trimmed with silver lace, and composed of the finest materials" 416.

Peddling, particularly itinerant trade through Northern Spain, was undoubtedly harmed by the Carlista war that began in 1833, not only because of the disruption of the communications. More importantly, with the end of the war the Basque fiscal privileges were abolished and the formerly fiscally exempted Basque provinces were incorporated into the national fiscal system. Smuggling would be no longer a profitable activity for Pasiego people.

In the 19th century, tobacco replaced muslins as the object of the contraband activity of Pasiegos. Their knowledge of the most inaccessible paths that linked Castile with the Cantabric seaports allowed them to successfully occupy themselves in smuggling with the products entered through Biscain seaports, which enjoyed a 50% tax reduction in the import prices. This activity was particularly intense between 1833, when the Carlista Wars began, and 1875, when these finished and the privileged Basque fiscal system abolished.

"En cada villa hay una partida de 30 a 40 hombres cargadores de contrabando, que pasan a las provincias esentas para llevar sus cargas a varios particulares del país que se han enriquecido con este comercio", se lee en el Diccionario de 1832. "No se puede negar que los pasiegos son demasiado aficionados al contrabando -insisted later Madoz-, y bajo este aspecto causan

416 A Walk across the French Frontier into North Spain by Lieut. March, R.M., London, Richard Bentley, 1852, p.146-148.

gravísimos perjuicios a la Hacienda, contribuyendo a ello las mujeres tanto como los hombres. Estos usan diestramente de un palo largo y grueso para saltar arroyos y breñas, huyendo de las rondas del resguardo" 417.

References to contraband appear sometimes confounded with the activity of bands of bandits during the war, especially in the 1830's. Both have traditionally been regarded as evidence of the active involvement of the interior regions of Northern Spain in the anti-liberal reaction, with peasants engaging in armed groups against the Army. Pasiego involvement in contraband has been however recently reinterpreted as caused more by the poverty of the region. 418

Legal and illegal commercial activities permitted an increased of Pasiego population not related to increases in agricultural/cattle breeding productivity, nor to changes in land ownership. Its decline around mid-19th century forced the return to the traditional balance between land/cattle and people, and fueled the need for the demographic excedent to out migrate.

The amillaramiento of 1865 shows some of the features of the structure of property in mid-19th century. Table IV.4. shows the structure of livestock property.

417 In 1861, Bartolomé Pelayo Ruiz demanded from Félix Maza "the amount of 265 reales, rest of a fine for contraband (Tobacco) (...) in which bussiness they were companions (...) The demandant answered that is true that they were in company, but he considers that the debt cannot be that much." AMVP, box 1, folio, 5°. In a cause for a gambling debt in 1870, the defendant declared that the night of the game the accused was accompanied by his servant, "who he always takes with him, assigning him various cargoes of tobacco, from this town to Castile." AMVP, box 1.

418 Fernández Benítez, Carlismo y campesinado en Cantabria. San Pedro del Romeral and Vega de Pas had two of the lowest numbers of Voluntarios Realistas as percentage of the population of all villages and towns in Santander (50,34 inhabitants for each Voluntario in San Pedro, 156,62 in Vega de Pas). Sánchez Gómez, Historia general de Cantabria, siglos XVIII y XIX, vol. 2, p.197.

Table IV. 4. Vega de Pas. Livestock in 1865

Cattle	1.848
Goats	2.536
Sheep	2.555
Mules	129
Horses	142
Beehives	705

The basic pattern continued to be based, as one century before, on the farm with cattle: three quarters of all Pasiego householders owned at least one cow. Slightly more than half of all householders owned sheep as well, and 75% of all sheep proprietors owned between 4 and 10 sheep. Goats were less common, with 60,7 % of households having none.

Horses, on the other hand, reflect well the degree of social differentiation of the Pasiego society. Parish priests, professionals living in the Casco of the town, and proprietors, owned one or two horses.⁴¹⁹ To a certain extent, ownership of horses reflected economic differentiation as well, for traders, and some of the individuals devoted to contraband must have owned at least one.

Table IV. 5. Vega de Pas. Structure of livestock property, 1865.

	cattle		goats		sheep		horses	
	proprietors	%	prop.s	%	prop.s	%	prop.s	%
20 and more	20	6,3	59	17,8	42	12,7	--	--
10 to 19	49	14,7	47	14,2	76	23,0	1	0,3
4 to 9	101	30,4	24	7,3	53	16,0	8	2,4
1 to 3	76	23,0	--	--	2	0,6	58	17,5
without	85	25,7	201	60,7	158	47,7	264	79,8

⁴¹⁹ For an analysis of the use of horses as a symbol of social status of males in Northern Spain, J. López Linage, *Antropología de la ferocidad cotidiana. Supervivencia y trabajo en una comunidad cántabra*.

Whilst property continued to be not very concentrated, with most of the proprietors being small and medium proprietors, the percentage of households declaring to own no cattle nor any other animal was a quarter of the total households. This means that alternative sources of earnings had necessarily have developed since the last decades of the 18th century.

The structure of property suggests that property continued to be distributed among most of the inhabitants, but is equally relevant the fact that almost a quarter of all householders now declared to have no property. This is not to be interpreted as a subsequent expansion of wage labour, that is, as a process of proletarianization. only reinforces the importance of alternative sources of income.

1. b. The structure of activity in 1877

The census roll recorded on December 31, 1877, includes data on individuals grouped by households: age, sex, marital status, "family relation or reason for residing with the head of the family", instruction, religion, handicaps, place of origin, residential status (householder or resident), years of residence in the town, profession, and place of residence if absent. It is, hence, an extremely rich source to describe the local pattern of outmigration.

Table IV.6. shows the population figures by barrios.

Table IV. 6. Vega de Pas. Households and inhabitants, by barrio. 1877.

Barrio	Households	Men	Women	Total	Under 16	
					M	F
Casco del pueblo	94	215	225	440	67	93
Corcus	30	63	62	125	24	25
Yera	23	70	55	125	35	22
Partillo	42	90	78	168	41	30
Rucabado	29	64	60	124	28	29
Pandillo	31	79	67	146	36	28
Candolías	40	87	106	193	37	40
Biaña	64	132	135	267	48	50
Gurueba	95	194	203	397	67	72
Guzparras	39	73	98	171	28	39
Total	487	1.067	1.089	2.156	411	428

According to the 1877 census, there were 2.995 inhabitants in La Vega in that year, an average of 6,01 persons by household, a higher coefficient than the usually regarded as average for Spain, 4,5. Applying this coefficient to the 322 households existing in Vega de Pas according to the amillaramiento taken 12 years before, total population is 1.935 inhabitants, too large a difference for such a short period of time. As the census of 1877 seems very carefully taken, this suggests an important under recording in the amillaramiento of 1865.

As recorded by the census, activities reflect the status of individuals as much as their occupation. For instance, householders who define themselves as "proprietors", define sometimes as such their wives and even small children as well.

Table IV. 7. shows the groups of activities, and the number of individuals performing them, according to the Census.

Table IV. 7. Vega de Pas. Structure of activity, 1877.

	Men	%	Women	%
Agriculture-cattle	491	67,9	286	39,7
Proprietors	65		32	
Farmers	295		203	
Day labourers	52		24	
Cattle breeder	73		19	
Shepherds	6		8	
Manufactures	33	4,6	10	1,4
Barquilleros	15		4	
Milliners	8		6	
Others	10		--	
Services	70	9,7	50	6,9
Servants	25		28	
Wet nurses	--		16	
Commerce	11		2	
Guards, military	9		--	
Professionals	8		1	
Others	17		3	
Non occupied	47	6,5	23	3,2
retired	7		--	
Students	40		23	
Su casa	82	11,3	352	48,8
Total occupied	723	100,0	721	100,0

The census provides information on the occupation of 47,5 % of women and 49 % of men. In comparison with most censuses, these percentages indicate a high recording of women's occupation and a low recording of men's. This is due to the fact that no occupation was generally given to male children occupied in the family farm, but the sign (""), which has not been included here. Female householders (unmarried and widows) on the other hand, show a higher tendency than male householders to describe the occupation of the members of their families.

Data on occupations has to be understood within the productive structures of Pas. According to the figures provided by this census, some major changes had occurred in the structure of activity of Vega de Pas since mid-18th century.

First, a change in the sectorial distribution of the occupation, consisting in the development of non agricultural occupations, such as services and manufactures. Whilst in mid-18th century all householders declared themselves as farmers (although some of them were occupied in construction or artisan work at the same time, or during some periods of the year), in the second half of the 19th century near 15 % of the male householders were occupied in activities other than agriculture.

Second, the rise of "su casa" as a new occupation and as primarily a women's occupation. The 82 men who appear occupied in "su casa" are children of farmers. Of the 352 women, 235 are wives, while the other 117 are daughters or other female members of the household.

This new feature of the work organization is more noticeable if we link it to the process of social differentiation. If the Casco-barrios dichotomy is taken as representative of this process (with wealthy propietarios and professionals living in the Casco of the town, in this way distancing themselves of the traditional farmer), housework as a female occupation appears concentrated in the Casco, the most 'urban' and modern part. Wives of professionals, artisans, even shopkeepers appear as occupied in 'her home'. Only wives of milliners and bread makers appear as occupied in their husbands' jobs. It is also interesting to note that while the term "su casa" appears as referring not only to housework but to

family members involved in the family activity, three women are defined with the more modern expression "sus labores", or "labores propias de su secso".

Third, the importance of temporal migration and, within it, the weight of female outmigration to work as wet nurses. The connection between this temporal outmigration and the permanent migration of Pasiego families that had established themselves as owners of vaquerías in urban centers, is another main feature of the Pasiego economic structure.

Last, the growth of wage labour. Although the exact number of wage workers cannot be deduced from the occupational categories of the census, some general tendencies can be identified. The fundamental of them is the growth in the number of servants.

Servants as wage labour

An increase in wage labour, in the form of agricultural-cattle servants, day labourers, or, most commonly, domestic servants, appears as the most characteristic feature of the occupational structure of Vega de Pas in the second half of the 19th century. Whilst in 1752 instances of wage labour in the three Pasiego villages were limited to four female servants working for the parish priests, there were at least 46 wage workers in Vega de Pas in 1877, 28 of them women and 18 men.

Two groups of servants can be identified: those working in La Vega, and those working as servants somewhere else. These were temporary migrants, and listed as absent residents.

Domestic servants formed the main group of wage labourers in Vega de Pas in 1877. Although defined as sirviente or criado, some of them worked in fact as agricultural or manufacture workers (two men as shoemakers, one as a milliner, one woman as agricultural servant).

The pattern of demand for servants followed the social differences that characterized the barrio life. As Table IV. 8. shows, there were three barrios where no families had servants, and four where there was only one servant. Servants concentrated in three barrios (the Casco, Viaña and Candolías), the

most active and the ones where services were concentrated. Main employers of wage workers were not farmers or cattle breeders, but professionals such as the secretary of the Town council, the pharmacist, the doctor (who needed a male servant as cart driver), as well as some of the rentiers living in the Plaza.

Seven of these servants were not originals from La Vega, and had probably been hired by their employers elsewhere.

Table IV. 8. Servants in La Vega and from La Vega, 1877.

	Residents		Absents	
	male	female	male	female
Casco	10	11	-	3
Corcus	-	-	-	-
Yera	2	2	2	-
Partillo	-	1	-	-
Rucabado	-	-	1	2
Pandillo	1	-	-	-
Candolías	2	3	1	4
Viaña	2	6	1	1
Gurueba	1	5	3	3
Guzparras	-	-	2	12
TOTAL	18	28	10	25

The second group of wage workers was formed by originals of La Vega who were temporarily working as servants outside La Vega. They were 35, of which 25 women (all unmarried) and six men (three married and three unmarried). Wet nurses, of which on December of 1877 there were 16, all of them married, have been included in this group. The market for wet nurses created in turn wage opportunities for women who remained in La Vega, although references to these wages are almost impossible to find: Gaspara González, who was working for the family of Santiago Gutiérrez, of Yera, was replacing his wife, absent in Madrid working as wet nurse, taking care of two sons of 7 and 2.

The number of strictly domestic servants was very low. The culture of

display was almost unexistent in Pas, and domestic servants were taken only when it was necessary. There were two of such situations: of the 18 households headed by men and employing women servants, three corresponded to professionals who had adopted urban habits of display, of which the wife's leisure is perhaps the most basic. Of the other 15, in 11 there is no wife, because the head is a widowed man (6 cases), unmarried (3, including the two priests), or the wife is not present.

1. c. Temporary migration in the census of 1877

The 1877 census is of a special interest to know the structure of temporary migration. Table IV. 9. shows the occupations of these temporary migrants and their family status. Temporary migrants were men and women, single and married, but a distinct pattern of migration differentiated each of these groups.

Table IV. 9. Absents in 1877, by activity and family status
children heads and spouses

	M	F	M	F
Trade	9	1	-	-
Servants	7	25	3	-
Wet-nurses	-	-	-	16
Propietario-ganadero	22	2	4	-
Vaquero	2	-	-	-
Wafer seller	2	-	2	-
Day-worker	8	4	-	2
Seamstress	-	1	-	-
Others (*)	2	-	2	-
Total	113	52	11	18

(*) Employee, stoneworker, fisherman, soldier.

The comparison of occupations and family status of temporary migrants permits to identify two patterns of temporary migration, based on gender and on

family status.

In the first place, the probability to migrate was higher for children than for parents. The sex tendency is inverse in the two groups: while male children migrated more than female children, wives migrated more than husbands. In other words, women tended to migrate more once married, while men tended to do it while unmarried.

The pattern of activity changes as well: men and women performed different activities as children (single) than as parents (married). The main difference between the male/female children patterns of migration was the greater variety of activities performed by the first. This is due, in the first place, to the greater opportunities offered by the labour market to male youngsters, but also to the fact that not all the male children are absent for working reasons. Many of them were defined by their families as "proprietors" of "cattle-breeders", and the reasons why they were temporarily living outside had probably more to do with the distinctive pattern of socialization of male and female children than with work.

The pattern of socialization of male and female children was defined by the rent of their families. Families of proprietors encouraged their male children to spend a period of their youth learning the cattle business, or simply becoming familiar with urban life, with relatives or friends in towns such as Zaragoza, Santander or Madrid. On the contrary, female children were not allowed to work outside the home. They wait for the moment of the marriage, being this "no work outside" one of the main indicators of their parents' economic position.

The gender pattern is the opposite among married outmigrants, among whom the possibility to temporarily out migrate was greater for women than for men. The activities performed are almost the same: men were temporarily absent due to their activity as cattle-breeders, which implied attendance to cattle markets, and frequent contacts with *vaquerías* in Madrid and other towns. A second group of activities, of less importance, was peddling (*barquilleros*). There were also three instances of absent married men working as domestic servants.

Of the 18 absent married women, 16 were working as wet-nurses, and two as day-labourers. Wet nursing appears, thus, as the most remarkable feature of

the pattern of temporary migration of Vega de Pas.

1. d. Wet nursing during the 19th century

14 of the 16 women from Vega de Pas working as wet nurses in 1877 were in Madrid, one in Málaga and the last one in Ledesma, province of Salamanca. Plate 19 shows a picture taken in the 1880's of two Pasiego wet nurses in Madrid. They are portrayed in their typical dresses, with the *cuévano*, long velvet skirts, scarfs on their heads and collars around the neck.

Their occupation was declared by their families in 14 cases, while in the other two the wife was recorded as simply absent in Madrid. Both cases have been included as wet nurses, being both women the mother of a children under two, and the family declaring "household activities" as the mother's occupation, that is, being very likely an occultation due to the negative social consideration, by these decades, of this activity.

All these 16 women were married and had between one and eight children; except in one case, the last child was alive. Only one of them was under 25, nine are over 30, one is 44 years old. In four of the 16 cases, another adult woman was living in the house (the mother or mother in law in three cases, a female servant of 45 in the other), presumably taking care of the children and housework.

Table IV. 10. shows their children's age and their husbands' occupation. Only two of the 16 were able to read, while the husbands of 12 of them do.

11 of the 16 husbands of women temporarily migrated to work as wet nurses were not day labourers, but farmers or small manufacturers (a milliner and a stone cutter). That is, they were proprietors of land and cattle or had other sources of earnings.



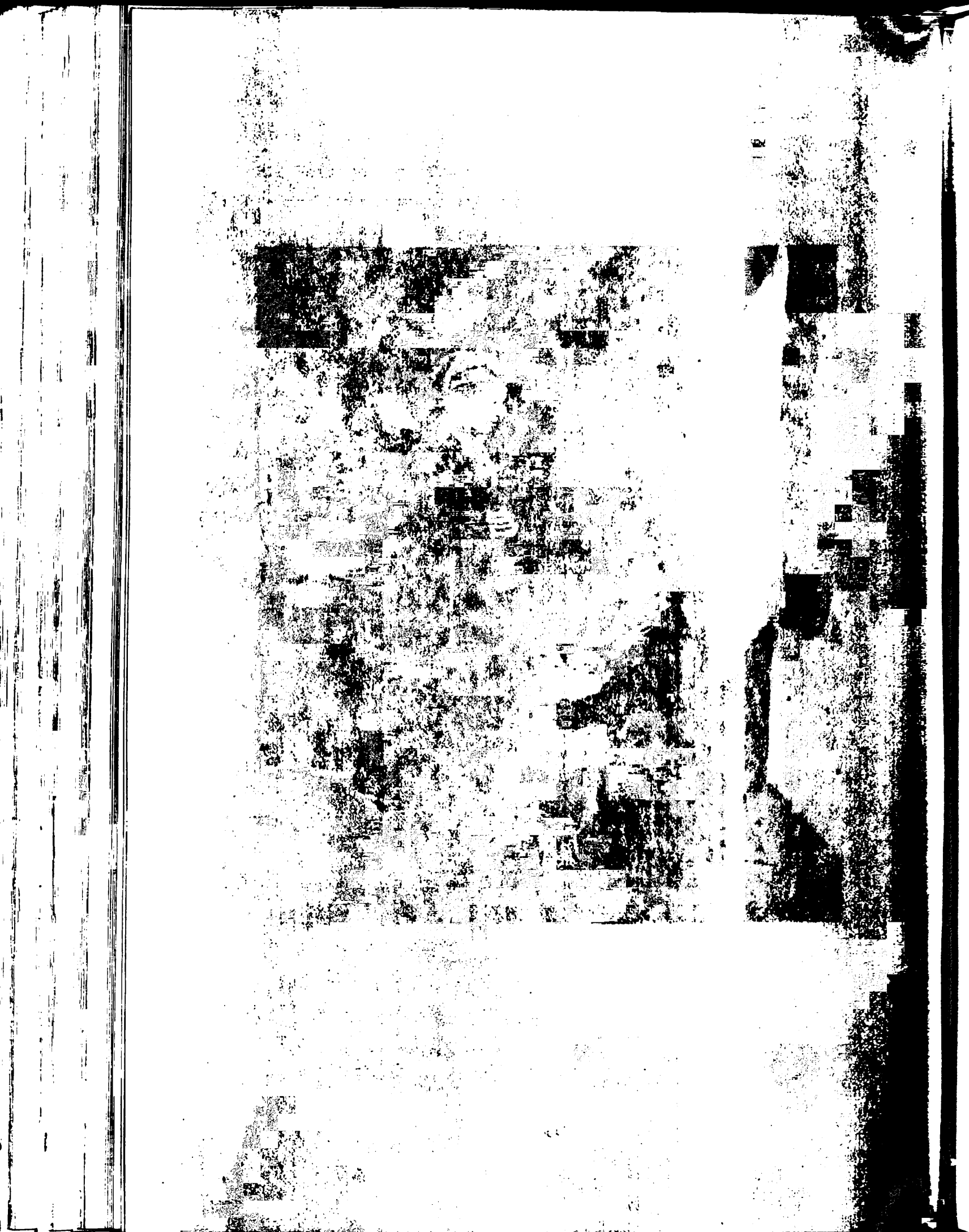


Table IV. 10. Women absents working as wet-nurses. Vega de Pas, 1877

age	age of children	occupation of husband
23	1	day labourer
26	10 months	milliner
27	1, 11m	farmer
27	7, 2	farmer
27	1	farmer
28	4, 1	vaquero
28	2	(land) owner
30	8, 5, 1	farmer
30	5, 1	farmer
31	2	day labourer
33	9, 7, 6, 5, 10 m	stone cutter
34	7, 3, 2	farmer
35	13, 6, 3, 1	day labourer
35	7, 6	day labourer
36	2, 4 m	day labourer
44	19, 18, 15, 13, 11, 8, 4, 1	ganadero

To what extent was wet nursing a widespread activity for Pasiego women? The 16 women absent working as wet nurses on December 1877 represent 10,7 % of the 149 potential wet nurses of Vega de Pas, defined as the mothers of children under two in that date. But if the process of social differentiation is considered, that is, the fact that there were families of proprietors that had assumed the cultural definition of middle class values, where "non-working" wives were a key piece, the percentage would increase. In any case, wet nursing was almost an especialization for Pasiego women.

The fact that in the second half of the 19th century Pasiego married women continued to migrate during periods of near two years to Madrid and other towns to work as wet nurses suggests that the economic returns of this work compensated the negative effects of their absence for their families.

Using literary and other sources it is possible to trace the evolution of Pasiego women's work as wet nurses. As chapter I showed, Pasiego women were working in Madrid as wet nurses at least since 1786, when the first advertisement

appeared in the Diario de Avisos de Madrid. A flow of Pasiego wet nurses rapidly organized then, in close relationship with Pasiego women and men selling fabrics in Madrid, in the area near Plaza Santa Cruz.

Towards mid 19th century, having a Pasiego wet nurse had become fashionable for noble and bourgeois families of Madrid. Around those years it became traditional that the Royal family chose its wet nurses from the province of Santander, which further reinforced this demand. ⁴²⁰

Royal wet nurses were generously rewarded when they finished nursing the babies, and recompensed with the title of *hidalguía* for them, their husbands, and descendants. While working, they occupied a preferential place in the public ceremonies and the Court's protocol, and they exerted their influence also in a public way. ⁴²¹ Plate 20 shows the official portrait of one *infante* in the arms of his Pasiego wet nurse.

Although women from Asturias were the majority of all women coming from the Northern regions to work in Madrid as wet nurses, the most sought after were from the Cántabro valleys, especially from the Pasiego valley. Writer Emilia Pardo Bazán explained this identification at the end of the 19th century:

The litoral of our Cantabric Ocean provides Madrid mostly with this human commodity, which most advantaged cast is produced in the famous Pas Valley, from which derives the name "pasiega" with which we designate all wet nurses, although the natives of Bierzo in the Mountains of Leon, are equally good ⁴²².

Despite the importance of domestic service and other forms of wage work in 1877 in La Vega, these were generally temporary occupations, undertaken

⁴²⁰ Wet nurses of the royal family had traditionally come from Castile. Fernando VII was the first king to choose a Cantabric wet nurse to nurse one of his sons, reflecting a recent trend in the Madrid demand for wet nurses. Sarasúa, Criados, nodrizas y amos. Some months before the child of Queen Isabel II was born, a Commission specially appointed travelled to the city of Santander to meet the candidates. The provincial governor issued a communiqué to the mayors of the Santander towns and villages asking them to send potential candidates before the Commission and enumerating the conditions required.

⁴²¹ Cortés Echánove, Nacimiento y crianza de personas reales en España, Madrid, 1954.

⁴²² Quoted in Sarasúa, Criados, nodrizas y amos, p.





generally by married individuals (wives in most cases) whose family remained in La Vega. They cannot be understood as signs of a transformation of the occupational structure in the sense of an abandonment of the primary sector and a progressive entrance into the wage labor market. The features of the characteristic Pasiego migrant, the wet nurse, become clear studying the destiny of their savings.

1. d. Investment of savings into the family farm: cattle raising as the source of economic transformation. Vaquerías as family business.

“wet nurses (...) when they finish raising the little angel, go back to their lands bringing the husband some onzas, with which he buys a couple of cows and devotes himself to the expansion and enlargement of his property, while the hapless wife gives birth to another offspring, whose breastfeeding will be taken care of by a woman neighbour for a meagre amount, and she returns to the Court, where she will find, by recommendation of the parents of her first nursling, another similar home, which after a year she will leave to again bring the lucky husband a similar or greater amount, with which the number of cows will be increased, and some lucrative speculation started”. 423

Savings generated by temporary employment in the domestic service were invested into cattle farms, through the buying of cows and meadows. By mid-19th century Pasiego farms were intensely absorbing financial resources, as new possibilities to expand cattle breeding developed. In particular, the new demand for milk generated by urban growth and new nutritional habits, led Pasiegos to establish themselves as milk retailers. 424

The area's especialization in cattle breeding was in this way reinforced: towards mid-19th century, a complex network of relatives and neighbours integrated a structure that covered all the stages of the production, transportation and marketing of milk cattle, extended to the main Spanish cities. The structure

423 El cascabel, art. cit.

424 Until then, cattle was one of the most important staples being imported into Madrid, but for meat consumption. Consumption of cow milk being almost non existent until the end of the 18th century. In the 18th century, the areas supplying cattle to Madrid were Castile and Extremadura, through a complex network of traders, among which there were also “two Basque firms importing similarly expensive cattle from Navarra and France”. Ringrose, Madrid and the Spanish economy, p.183, 182.

of the business can be followed through the many litigations originated by the deals, that were traditionally oral.

1. Cattle breeders, often themselves exporters to the town, formed the first level. 425

2. Individuals specialized in intermediation, dealers who bought cows to local producers and sold them to Madrid. These dealers had a network of local acquaintances who informed them when a cattle breeder had good quality cows. 426

3. Transportation of the cows to Madrid was the following stage of the business: since 18 could be done by train from Torrelavega, 35 Km.s away from Vega de Pas, but it was usually done by walking. The same middlemen who supply cows to vaquería owners in Madrid were usually in charge of transportation, but there are also instances of young men working for wages 427.

4. Owners of vaquerías (the cow stalls where milk was retailed) in Madrid were the last link of the migratory chain generated by cattle breeding and milk production for urban markets.

In the 1870's applications for licenses to open vaquerías in Madrid

425 On October, 26, 1861, "Marcos Diego, farmer and householder of this town" put in a claim for 177 reales to Jacinto Sañudo, also from La Vega, "for the expenses made in a trip to Zaragoza his wife ordered me to undertake, and the said 177 reales are rest of the expenses incurred with the cattle, according to the estimates I made with his wife before departing." AMVP, box 1, juicio 7, folio 29.

426 In 1858, Don José Ibáñez de Riancho, a householder of Luena, claimed from Don Juan José Solares, from Vega de Pas, for failing to pay him for a cow. The accused argued that he had "never bought him a cow, although is true that he told José Martínez (...) that should he found any good cows he would give him a *duro* for each of them, as he had done on other occasions; and so the said Martínez brought him three cows, and of the three he kept one, the price fixed in 680 reales (...) he said that when he received the cows he would give whatever money he had available, and the remainder after the trip to Madrid." Libro de Juicios verbales de este año de 1858. Juez de Paz. Dn. Manuel Pelayo Diego, AMVP, box 1.

427 In 1877, Manuel Sañudo Ortiz, owner of La Vega, claimed from Juan Oria Ortiz, owner, to pay him "half of the value of the cow that they had undertaken together to take to Madrid to sell, bought from Don Pedro Pelayo, from this town, in the amount of 250 pesetas, and sold in Madrid to Don José Martínez in the same price of 250 pesetas." On September, 25, 1868, Manuel Pelayo Pelayo demanded the heirs of Manuel Oria, "diceased who died in Madrid (...) last year (...) to pay him the amount of 420 reales, of half a cow that he sold him (...) that he took to Madrid." AMVP, box 1, dossiers of 1868.

belonged almost all to individuals with Pasiego last names. ⁴²⁸

In few years, vaquerías became a major business for Pasiegos, who seem to have controlled in particular those in Madrid, Santander and Zaragoza. In the last decades of the 19th century, the network of Pasiego originals was strongly established in Madrid and controlled the Association of vaquería owners. ⁴²⁹

Owners acted more as long-distance investors than as actual managers, hiring a young Pasiego who moved to the town to take care of the vaquería, they themselves remaining residents of the Pasiego towns and travelling often to oversee their business. ⁴³⁰ These young migrants, in turn, would save to become independent vaquería owners, which eventually many of them succeeded.

Demand generated by these urban business fostered, in turn, the transformation of local cattle breeding. Pasiego cattle breeders began to breed in their mountains the cows born during the travel to the port of Santander, or those born in the Madrid vaquerías, and progressively to substitute the original Pasiego or *pintarroja* cattle, small and adapted to high mountains, by milking varieties, *ratino* or Swiss crossed with *tudanco*, or Dutch Holstein. ⁴³¹ "The extraordinary demand for milk in the towns where Pasiego had established vaquerías led them to look for a type of cow of higher milk production (...) between 1865 and 1870 they began crossing the Pasiego breed with the Swiss, obtaining good results (...) despite this, Madrid vaquería owners began to import

⁴²⁸ In 1874, 11 out of 18; in 1876-1877, 21 out of 35; in 1878, 16 out of 33; in 1879, 18 out of 30; in 1880, 13 out of 21; in 1881, 7 out of 12; in 1883, 10 out of 15; in 1885, 6 (two of them women) out of 8; in 1885-1886, 4 out of 13. Archivo de Villa, Secretaría, legajo 6-29-1.

⁴²⁹ Estatutos y Reglamento de la Asociación titulada Gremio de Dueños de Vaquerías de Madrid, reformados en Junta general extraordinaria de 16 de Enero de 1900 y sometida su aprobación a la Autoridad gubernativa. Madrid, R. Velasco, Impresor, 1910.

⁴³⁰ In 1888, Federico Barquín Ruiz, "from San Roque de Riomiera, resident in Madrid, responsable of the vaquería in calle del Tutor, 29, in the absence of its owner Don Paulino Ruiz Gutiérrez, absent in the said San Roque..." A. de Villa de Madrid, Secretaría, leg. 7-376-3.

⁴³¹ Until mid 19th century, dairy products were consumed in towns very scarcely, and milk only by medical prescription. The first advertisement of milk cows in the press in Madrid is from 1799. In 1903, "milk cows consumed in Madrid is supplied by 400 stalls (most of them in the center of the town), con 2.770 cows registered", according to El progreso agrícola y pecuario. "Leche que se consume en Madrid y precio a que resulta", November, 22, 1903, p. 677.

directly from Holland." 432

Cow prices increased in such a way that "a true revolution took place in Pasiego cattle (...) an exceptional case that has come to transform the entire cattle wealth of a region". 433

"Difficulties for imports, particularly during WWI, and the rapidity with which breeding of calves intensified in the Pasiego towns" led Pasiego breeders to convert the Pasiego villages into a criadero of Dutch cattle, "with which the province of Santander, as well as all the others, were supplied with Dutch cows, of great milk production, perfectly adapted to our environment".

This revolution in local cattle related to new forms of cattle breeding and commercializing brought about important changes in the local organization of work. Closing the circle of family and local networks, vaquerías facilitated also the entrance of Pasiegos into the urban labour market. With

the switch to Holstein breeding in Pas, two forms of massive occupational emigration came to involve Pasiegos in numbers which had not previously characterized the movement into any single trade. One of these forms was urban and characterized by the establishment of the vaquerías, the cow stalls where milk is retailed; the other is rural and characterized by the establishment of milk specialized dairy farms on the Santander coastal plain. Both together escalated the pace of emigration and created large, concentrated communities of Pasiegos outside Pas who maintained systematic relations with their home town 434.

And also of women to work as wet nurses: "In the past, vaquerías had a more specific brokerage function: they were the loci in which wet nurses made their contracts. The matrons of families wanting wet nurses visited the vaquerías of their acquaintance, accompanied perhaps by their doctors, to interview

432 Arche,

433 Arche, p. 63. Carlos Santiago Enríquez (1922: 21), inspector de Higiene pecuaria en Santander, affirmed in the 1920's that production of Holstein cattle was concentrated "in Santander, and more exactly in the district of Villacarriedo o Pasiego region" and it constitutes "an endless source of wealth for that country, from which each year came out some hundreds of wagons full of cattle for the vaquerias of the Spanish towns".

434 Tax Freeman, Pasiegos. Spaniards in No Man's Land, p. 201.

candidate Pasiegas, who lodged in the vaquerías until they took positions” 435.

Angela Martínez Herrero (1850-1932), who worked as a wet-nurse in Madrid in the 1870s, married Joaquín Pelayo Pérez (from the barrio of Gurueba) and had 4 sons and 3 daughters. When she first went to nurse, left her daughter, who died some months later, with the grandmother. After nursing the second child, she decided to try the family migration, and negotiated that “her master and mistress set up a vaquería for her.” The husband, who owned only six sheep, sold them and joined her in Madrid. The husband milked the cows while she sold the milk at the counter. They returned to Vega de Pas some years later, and bought the properties that the informant inherited and still owns today. 436

Women’s employment as wet nurses became an important source of earnings for Pasiego families in this period of expansion of cattle breeding. In 1876 and 1877, prices of milk cows at the Santander seaport ranged from 125 to 250 pesetas. 437 A wet nurse working in Madrid, could save this amount in a period of a year and a half.

It eventually became a especialization for the entire province. Together with the breeding and selling of milk cows, wet nursing was recognized as the occupation that had permitted the increase in the rent of the peasant families. Plate 21 shows the poster announcing the feast days of Santander for 1907. Main arguments of the poster, which annually celebrated the most important and characteristics events or images related to the province, are the milking cow and the wet nurse. Both had become productive industries for the region and this poster reflects this recognition.

Traditional engagement in commercial activities, such as peddling and smuggling, or in domestic service, provided Pasiego people not only with important and estable sources of income during the 19th century; by demanding

435 Tax Freeman, *Ibidem*, p. 218.

436 Personal communication of Manuela Pelayo, born in 1917 and a current resident of Pandillo, about her grandmother.

437 Semanario oficial y mercantil of the Gaceta Agrícola published by the Ministerio de Fomento.

482 483

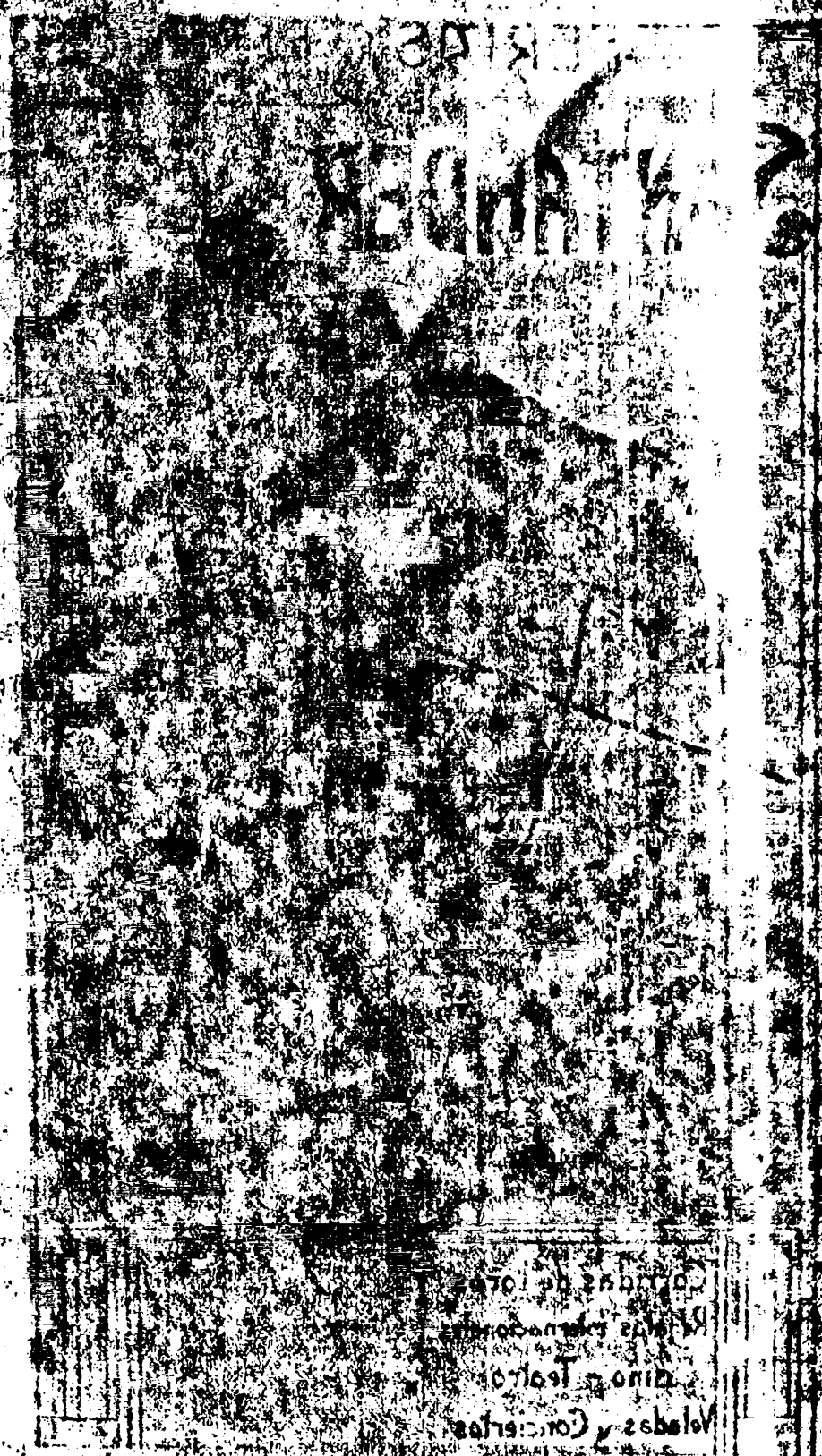
434 Tax Premium, Payable, South of the New York and to All

2020

FERIAS y FIESTAS EN SANTANDER



Corridas de toros
Regatas internacionales
Casino - Teatro
Veladas y Conciertos.



Volados y Conciertos
Cinco Teatros
Relatos y Novelas
Cuentos de la noche

frequent and long moves and temporary settlements outside the region, they made Pasiegos familiar with urban labour markets, and worked as a first stage of what became later an important definitive migration.

In conclusion, the 18th century demographic growth acted as an initial pressure to break the narrow limits imposed by natural constraints on the Pasiego economy. Temporary, and later permanent outmigration acted as mechanisms to lighten this pressure, providing Pasiego families with sources of income alternative to the traditional of cattle rising. But this activity continued to be the basis of the Pasiego culture and economy, and savings made from these alternative sources were consistently reinvested in Pasiego farms. As the economic conjuncture favoured these investments, making highly profitable the replacement of the local cattle breeds by imported milking breeds, a whole new economic system developed that perfectly integrated temporary outmigration of Pasiego people to run cow stalls in the main towns.

1. e. Female householders

The amillaramiento of 1865 listed 322 householders, of which 44 women (13,7%), one of them unmarried, the other 43 widows. The percentage was very similar in 1877 according to the census of that year: 15 % of the 487 households, that is, 73, were female-headed. Of these 73 women heads of households, eight were unmarried, while one was married with an absent husband.

Maintaining independent households seems to have been extremely difficult for women. If we look at the the occupation of female householders, there were two of them in the Casco, one of them a jornalera, 43, with a daughter of 17 absent working as domestic servant and a son, 11, attending school. This is the only case of an unmarried mother keeping an independent household.

The other women who were unmarried householders lived either with other unmarried sisters or alone: in the Casco, Antonia Calleja Pellón, 50, labradora, lived with her sister Manuela, 40, also labradora. In Partillo, María Pardo, 26, also labradora, lived alone. In Candolías, Gaspara Gómez Ruiz, 21, jornalera, lived with her sisters Ramona, 14, and Milagros, 12, both jornaleras.

In Gurueba María Martínez, 50, labradora, lived alone, as well as Andrea Ortiz, 60, recadera, that is, lives of what the neighbours give them for doing small . Gertrudis Ruiz Martínez, 24, lived alone and declared to occupy herself in "su casa". In the same barrio lived Manuela, María and Antonia Martínez, 46, 44 and 38, all jornaleras.

What access to property had these women? Table IV. 11. shows some clues provided by the amillaramiento of 1865: being the 14 % of all householders, women owned 7,4 of the cattle, 5,6 % of the horses, 8,5 % of the mules, 7,9 of the beehives, 9,9 of the sheep and 10,8 of the less expensive of all animals, goats. That is, female householders were poorer than the average group of proprietors. In fact, the situation was probably much worse that what this average figures indicate, for all but one of these 44 women were widows, and some of them would be recent widows, that is, keeping still most of the properties left by their husbands. Six of them declared to own nothing.

Table IV. 11. Vega de Pas. Property of livestock in 1865

		female householders	%
Cattle	1.848	137	7,4
Goats	2.536	274	10,8
Sheep	2.555	253	9,9
Mules	129	11	8,5
Horses	142	8	5,6
Beehives	705	56	7,9

IV. 2. ALMAGRO

Two statistical sources have been used to describe changes occurred in Almagro's occupational structure during the 19th century. The first is a census collected in 1801 that enumerates householders and their occupation. ⁴³⁸

The second source is a Cadaster taken in 1842. ⁴³⁹ Although the data on property provided by this census is confused, and it has been impossible to compare it with the data provided by Ensenada one century before, it has been chosen among the Cadasters and census available because it includes information on occupations.

Almagro's population during the 19th century:

Table IV. 12. Evolution of Almagro's population in the 19th century

	Householders	Inhabitants	coeffic.	Growth
1787		9.225		
1801	2.615			
1834 ⁴⁴⁰	2.952	10.200	3,5	
1846		12.605		

⁴³⁸ Padrón Gral. de los Vez.s que se compone esta Villa de Almagro y el año presente de 1801. S.res Comisarios. D.n Ramón García Valladolid. y D. Pedro de Abila sus Rexidores perpetuos. SS.nos de Cavildos. Julián Franco Espinosa y Franco García Montañés. AMA.

⁴³⁹ Catastro de la riqueza de los vecinos de la Ciudad de Almagro. rectificado por su Ayuntamiento y mayores Contribuyentes. perteneciente al año de 1842. AMA.

⁴⁴⁰ Observaciones presentadas a la Diputación de Ciudad Real sobre la utilidad de trasladar la capital a la ciudad de Almagro. Madrid, 1837, p. 7 and 20.

2. a. Occupational structure in 1801

Recording of adult men and female householders, including the status of women, and activities in the manufacturing and services sectors (for men and non married women) seems to be accurate. Much less reliable, for irregular, seems to be the recording of men's status, agricultural occupations, and non occupied population. As is traditional, this census fails to record occupations of married women, and only in very few occasions, occupations of non married women.

Of the census 103 pages, in the first 33 (corresponding to 34 streets) adult inhabitants (excluding married women) are listed by their name, status, whether they own the house in which they live, and occupation. From page 34, and for 32 streets more, in what seems to be the beginning of the *arrabales* or poor quarters, inhabitants are described only by name, status in the case of unmarried and widower men and women.

As a consequence, any attempt to use this census as a source to know the occupational structure faces as a main difficulty the confuse recording of agricultural workers and, especifically, day workers ⁴⁴¹. Although male population without occupation could have been regarded as day-workers, an especific but small group of *jornaleros* exist, so they have been listed as "without occupation".

In sum, the census of 1801 permits us to analyze the structure of activity by sectors, but not the relative weight of the waged and self employed groups.

⁴⁴¹ While the 'urban' part of the town was recorded according to the traditional occupations and categories, in the 'rural' part only 23 names are given an occupation (6 churchmen, 5 retired men, 2 lace makers, 1 servant, etc.). The rest is followed by: "CP", "PC", "L", "LCP", "J". Names of widower and unmarried women appear often followed by the same accronyms. They may correspond to the traditional classifications of the agricultural population (CP= *cuenta propia*, or independent worker; PC= *por cuenta*, or contract worker; L=*labrador*, or farmer LCP=*labrador cuenta propia*, and J=*jornalero*), yet an attempt to decipher the data has given not very satisfactory results: for example, only 8 "J" exist, while there are 698 male names (56,3% of all male names in this part) to whom no occupation is attached.

Table IV. 13. Almagro, 1801. Occupational structure

	male	%	female	%
Agriculture				
hortelano	14		--	
CP (cuenta propia)	362		96	
PC (por cuenta)	147		26	
labrador	103		--	
day labourers	59		--	
cattle-related	5		--	
workers	26		--	
Total	716	34,9	122	21,6
Manufactures				
Artisans	185		--	
Total	185	9,0		
Services				
shop-keepers	28		5	
traders, commerce	40		3	
professionals	18		2	
other services	45		0	
public employees	30		--	
military	12		--	
churchmen	9		--	
domestic servants	32		--	
lace dealers	51		--	
Total	265	12,9	10	1,8
Non occupied				
Proprietors	37		--	
retired	15		--	
noble	12		--	
council men	6		--	
no occupation	814		433	
Total	884	43,2	433	76,6
	2.050	100	565	100

The most striking feature of the male occupational structure is the practical disappearance of cattle-related activities. There are two sheep shearers, and two sheperds, and only two proprietors define themselves as cattle breeders. Even if we consider the loose definitions such as "workers" as including cattle-

related activities, the variety of categories and activities related to cattle recorded by the Cadaster of 1752 has dissapeared.

This dramatic change in the occupational structure has to be analyzed as a consequence of the process of disentailment, by which traditional landowners lost important shares of their properties. This process had a particular important consequence in Almagro, where the Company of Jesus appeared in the 18th century as one of the main land and livestock owners (see ch. II). The dissolution of the Company in 1761, that entailed the selling of all its properties, meant a major transformation of the property structure in Almagro in the years immediately after the Catastro of 1752 was taken.

The Company was also one of the main employers of men in Almagro. We can only suggest that its dissolution and the disgregation of the large flocks of sheep had fundamental consequences also for the male occupational structure in Almagro.

2. b. The Disentailment and the end of cattle trashumance.

In Campo de Calatrava disentaileed land amounted to 42 % of the total land. ⁴⁴²

First sellings of land had taken place in the region in 1807, but only a few small plots were affected. In 1809, after the suppression of the monastic and regular orders ordered by Joseph Napoleón I, more lands were sold.

Disentailment of land of ecclesiastical owners (order of Calatrava, secular and regular clergy) took place from 1837 to 1864, and affected particularly Almagro, since most of the regions' convents were located there.

Civil disentailment, that is, of lands owned by the Crown, affected more other towns in the region, such as Almadén, Almodóvar and Mestanza.

⁴⁴² F. Quirós, Valle de Alcudia y Campo de Calatrava, p. 187. The account of the Desamortization process follows chapter 3, "La desamortización, factor condicionante de la estructura de la propiedad agraria en el Valle de Alcudia y Campo de Calatrava", pp.187-227.

Table IV. 14. The process of disentailment of land in Campo de Calatrava ⁴⁴³

	Surface disentailed (%)	Plots
Aldea del Rey	52,0	42
Almagro	42,4	164
Almodóvar	67,2	189
Argamasilla	42,7	50
Ballesteros	26,2	18
Bolaños	11,2	19
Cabezarados	10,0	4
La Calzada	17,6	89
Cañada	57,2	8
Caracuel	24,1	2
Corral	28,6	18
Granátula	29,7	72
Mestanza	64,6	85
Moral	6,1	8
Pozuelo	25,5	45
Puertollano-Cabezarrubias	62,0	87
Valenzuela	36,6	44
Villamayor	49,7	29
Villar del Pozo	49,3	19

The process of disentailment of the land had enormous economic and social effects. In the first place, the concentration of the land property: whilst the average extension of the plots auctioned was 237 Ha., average extension of the plots purchased was 877 Ha. ⁴⁴⁴

The social consequences of these sellings were reinforced by the fact that "the most important part corresponded to propios and common unplowed lands, 53,7% of the total" ⁴⁴⁵. Propios and comunales has traditionally been main means of survival for the poorest peasants.

⁴⁴³ Quirós, *Ibidem*, p. 211, data from the "Boletín de ventas de Bienes Nacionales".

⁴⁴⁴ Quirós, *ob. cit.*, p. 217.

⁴⁴⁵ Quirós, *ob. cit.*, p. 211.

In Almagro, the selling and subsequent privatization of these common lands was possible for a legal loophole: while the towns were their legal proprietors, the Calatrava Order had hold rights on them (such as half of the price of the rents of the pastures, etc.). These rights were sold as well in 1845. In 1846 some buyers (politicians and local *caciques*) tried to "resell", alleging that "rights" over the lands were identical to "property" of the lands. Strong opposition on the part of the towns (which at least in Granátula, Calzada and Almodóvar, took the form of armed insurrections) interrupted the process and took the case to the Cortes. Finally, in 1872 the government accepted the buyers' position, and ordered the selling of the rest of the common lands of the Campo de Calatrava.

In the third place, changes in the use of the soil, principally an increase in the plowings (facilitated by the decline of cattle breeding) in a first stage, followed by an increase in proprietors' absenteeism, being many of them residents in Madrid. The use of extense proprieties for leisure activities, such as hunting, has continued until our days.

As a result of both the loss of communal lands, and changes in the use of the land by the new proprietors, an increase in the number of peasant proletarians occurred:

The other structural change that transformed the land ownership and labour systems of Campo de Calatrava was the decadence of the Mesta. The organization of the sheep breeders that had controlled for centuries the exports of Merino whool, had, as was seen in chapter II, a fundamental importance as a source of employment in Almagro, where important sheep owners lived.

The crisis of the Mesta was the crisis of an entire economic and work system, and it has been explained by both structural and conjunctural factors.⁴⁴⁶

Population growth during the 18th century had led to an increasing demand of wheat, main food staple of Spanish working population. In turn,

⁴⁴⁶ A comprehensive account of the decadence of sheep breeding, in A. García Sanz, "La agonía de la Mesta y el hundimiento de las exportaciones laneras: un capítulo de la crisis económica del Antiguo Régimen en España", in A. García Sanz and R. Garrabou, *Historia agraria de la España contemporánea*, vol. I, pp. 174-216.

higher grain prices led to an increasing pressure to plow lands. Proprietors of dehesas, the large estates where sheep flocks pastured, tended to plow them to profit from growing grain prices. When land devoted to pastures decreased, prices of pastures grown as a result. Since grass accounted for around 50% of the trashumant sheep enterprises, the result was a sharp fall in profits.

Although whool exports continued to grow until 1820, the crisis was aggravated by conjuctural factors, such as the wars of the first half of the 19th century, that eventually led this activity to an end. The war implied an important reduction of the number of sheep, as well as changes in the proprierty of the sheep flocks. As trashumant flocks remained isolated from their proprietors, and suffered important losses during the war, many mayorales or chief sheperds had a chance to become independent sheep breeders. Other obtained profits in the form of higher wages, paid to them because of the important shortage of sheperds ready to work in trashumancy in war time.

On the other hand, the war permitted the French and British to organize, through different means, their own flocks of Merino sheep. As a consequence, Spanish wool exports entered a definitive period of decline after 1820. Its consequences for Almagro's organization of labour are described below.

2. c. Female householders

As Table IV. 15. shows, the census recorded an occupation for 132 of the 565 female householders (23,4%). Of these 132 female householders occupied, 122 were so in agriculture (113 widows and 9 unmarried women).

Table IV. 15. Female householders, 1801.

		%
Unmarried	115	
Married	--	
Widows	450	
Female householders	565	21,6
Occupied	132	23,4

Non agricultural female activity was limited, according to this census, to ten women: five shop-keepers, one estanquera, 2 retail traders, and two school teachers "for girls", which probably means a lace-making school. As usual, this very low registration of female activity is related to women's status, married women's activity never being recorded (of these 9 recorded as active, 3 shop-keepers and one school teacher were unmarried, the rest widowers).

The 1801 census shows a remarkable difference between the accuracy of the data from the central part of the town, and the streets of the periphery. Almagro's suburbs were probably nothing more than an ensemble of irregular dwellings, built with adobe, the sun-dried bricks characteristic of most Southern Spain, and not properly forming streets. Inhabitants of these parts were simply listed by name, as if all had the same, or no occupation and thus no a source of income for which they could be taxed.

In the central or "urban" area of the town, a total of 1.045 inhabitants are listed, of which 24,7 % women and 75,3 % men. In the peripheric or "rural" part of the town, there are 1. 570 inhabitants, 80,5 % of them men, 19,5% women. I have explored the possibility that a gender-differentiated pattern of residence related to (a) occupation or (b) marital status, could be identified.

Table IV. 16. Female householders. Residential pattern by occupational status.

	With occupation (%)		Without occupation (%)	
"Urban"	10	7,7	248	57,3
Rural	122	92,3	185	42,7
Total	132	100	433	100

While women with not recorded occupation were evenly distributed among rural and urban areas, women "with occupation" were very heavily concentrated in the rural area. This could be due to the fact that women "non

occupied", such as the daughters and widowers of functionaries and rentiers, concentrated in the 'urban' part of the town, but also to the fact that activities performed by "urban" women, such as lace making, were not recorded.

If women's marital status is considered, the results are as follows:

Table IV. 17. Female householders. Residential pattern by marital status. 1801

	Unmarried	(%)	Widows	(%)
"Urban"	84	73,1	174	38,7
Rural	31	26,9	276	61,3
Total	115	100	450	100

According to these data, 61,3 % of all widows householders lived in the poorest area of the suburbs. The fact that more widows lived in the 'rural' part is possibly due to widow women were able to remain as householders more easily in the poorer parts of the town, as living was more affordable, while in the more expensive, 'urban' part they would become a member of other households.

Much more significant appears the fact that three quarters of all unmarried women concentrated in the urban part. Lacking more data we can only suggest that this concentration could have been linked to the existence of lace making as an occupation providing women with earnings. Lace making developed as a typically 'urban' manufacture, demanding high standards of cleanliness that most rural homes surely lacked. At the same time the learning of the technique relied upon close contact with neighbours and involvement in the street groups where girls were taught and surveyed, and this probably facilitated the concentration of lace makers in some streets. ⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ If true, this would support the positive relation between the possibility of earning an income and a higher tendency to remain unmarried, found by Pam Sharpe in English lace-making areas. Sharpe, "A Womanly Accomplishment".

2. d. Occupational structure in 1842

The source used for 1842 is a Cadaster, so its main purpose was to tax the wealth, not to record the population. Not only there are, thus, problems with what seems to be an important underestimation of Almagro's wealth, but also with the use of this Cadaster as a source for the population. In fact, it records 1.410 householders, which applying the coefficient of 3,5 (as results from the census of 1834), gives a total population of 4.935. According to the census of 1846, Almagro had in that year a population of 12.605.

Table IV. 18. shows the percentage of householders recorded as occupied by this census.

Table IV. 18. Householders in Almagro, 1842.			
		Recorded occupation	
Male	1.164		
Female	246	24	9,8
Total	1.410		

This means that the Catastro of 1842 cannot be used as a source for the population. It has been nevertheless used here because it records individuals with property as well as with regular sources of income. That is, it permits to describe the structure of property, and to a certain extent, the occupational structure as well.

Table IV. 19. shows the structure of property as recorded by this Catastro.

Table IV. 19. Almagro, 1842. Structure of property

	1752	1842
Agriculture (fanegas)		
irrigated land		3.014
dry farming		21.279
olive trees	178.607	126.785
vineyards	702.440	122.587
Livestock		
sheep	26.574	6.819
goats	1.136	129
pigs	1.210	216
horses-mules	2.621	370
Other		
oil mills	24	5
thresing floors	149	48

Table IV. 19. suggests that a high degree of occultation could have occurred. However, some trends can be identified, such as the reduction in the extension devoted to vineyard and the sharp reduction of the flocks of sheep.

Table IV. 20 shows Almagro's occupational structure in 1842, as provided by the catastro:

Table IV. 20. Almagro, 1842. Occupational structure (householders)

	male	%	female	%
Agriculture				
hortelano	67		1	--
farmers +day labourers	688		--	
cattle workers	8		--	
Total	763	65,6	1	
Manufactures				
Artisans	159		--	
Industry	63		7	
Total	222	19,1	7	
Services				
shop-keepers	38		10	
traders, commerce	81		2	
professionals	24		--	
other services	34		--	
church men	2		--	
Total	179	15,4	12	
Non occupied				
Proprietors	--		21	
no occupation	--		205	
Total	1.164	100,0	246	

2. e. Wage agricultural labour.

According to the Catastro of 1842, 65,6 % of male workers was engaged in agriculture, but is not possible to identify how many of them were day labourers.

The type of dry farming developed in the Almagro area in the 19th century demanded a high amount of workers during the peak seasons. The sequence of the collection of the three main products of the region, the grain harvest in early summer, vintage in September, and collection of olive in January, permitted day workers to work during some months a year.

These peak seasons were a major event in the economic life of the local population. Bad harvest years, where wages remained reduced to some days, meant starving populations and social unrest. Women, men, children and old

people worked during these seasons. ⁴⁴⁸ According to Madoz, "collection of grain and olives" were the only work opportunities for women before the expansion of lace making in the first decades of the 19th century. ⁴⁴⁹

Participation of men and women in harvest was strictly regulated by the pattern of sexual division of tasks. In the harvest, men would cut the grain with the sickle while women would gather it and mount it. Sickles became in this way a characteristic male tool. Plate 22 shows a group of 14 men, aligned, harvesting with sickles.

In the collection of olives, men would do the vareo or threshing of the olive trees with long sticks, while women collected and selected the olives, picking them up in baskets. Plate 23 shows a group of some 8 men and 12 women collecting olives in Ciudad Real. Five of men are beating the branches with long sticks, while other 3 are up in the tree, making sure all the branches are reached. Women are inclined, their knees on the ground, picking the olives at hand and putting them in the baskets.

Plate 24 shows a group or "cuadrilla" of olive pickers "celebrating the fiesta of the Morcón, customary in the town of Granátula, when they finish the recollection of such an appreciated and valuable fruit." The picture, taken in the field, shows 54 people, of which 19 women, 7 children and 26 men.

Olive trees required work during the year and provided hence wages also outside the peak collection season. Plate 25 is a picture of 1914 showing a group of 10 women are addressing themselves to the field "ready to put the signals for a plantation". The young branches were intended for a new olive grove.

Grape collection allowed a much reduced division of tasks between men and women, because grapes were cut and collected by the same person. Plate 26 shows a group of *vendimiadores* at work in La Mancha where both men but

⁴⁴⁸ A public announcement of July 9, 1859, intending to prevent new deaths among harvesters for working at the hottest hours mentions some accidents occurred to "some harvesters of both sexes". A. Ministerio de Agricultura.

⁴⁴⁹ "despite the misery and nudity in which they were, not having other means of subsistence than recollecting the remains after the recollection of grains and olives, with the mesquine benefit of 6 or 8 cuartos per day." Diccionario.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-19-2013 BY 60322 UCBAW

ПОДПИСАНИЕ И ПЕЧАТ КОМПЕТЕНТНОГО ЛИЦА: _____

100-443887-100

entirely new and different from the old one.

...the ... of the ...

...would make it more difficult to obtain a loan in this

Plate 12 shows a wood (unidentified)

Category	Value
Local	100
State	100
Federal	100
Total	300

of olive men would be the same in the interest of

While women with a history of abortion

Notes [Page 2] showing a record of work done by [redacted]

Lab Real Five of man and woman the

...the ...

has had to divert all my attention to my family and to my work.

Total 1978 10 1

THE OCCUPIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

100.0	24
-------	----

128

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

1. The first group of people who are not in the labor force are those who are not in the labor force for any reason. This group includes people who are not in the labor force because they are not in the labor force for any reason. This group includes people who are not in the labor force because they are not in the labor force for any reason.

100

THE COLLECTION OF THE CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND KOREAN

...of the ...

These major events were a major event in the history of the world.

... wages remained ...
... raised ...

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

100

100-443887-100

100

♦ ♦ NOTAS DE LA VIDA ACTIVA ♦ ♦



Cuadrilla de aceituneros en la finca "El Montero" propiedad de D. Facundo Gómez, celebrando la fiesta del Muérón tradicional en el pueblo de Granátula, cuando terminan la recolección de tan apreciado y valioso fruto. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦



Grupo de segadores trabajando en los campos de Granátula de Calatrava. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

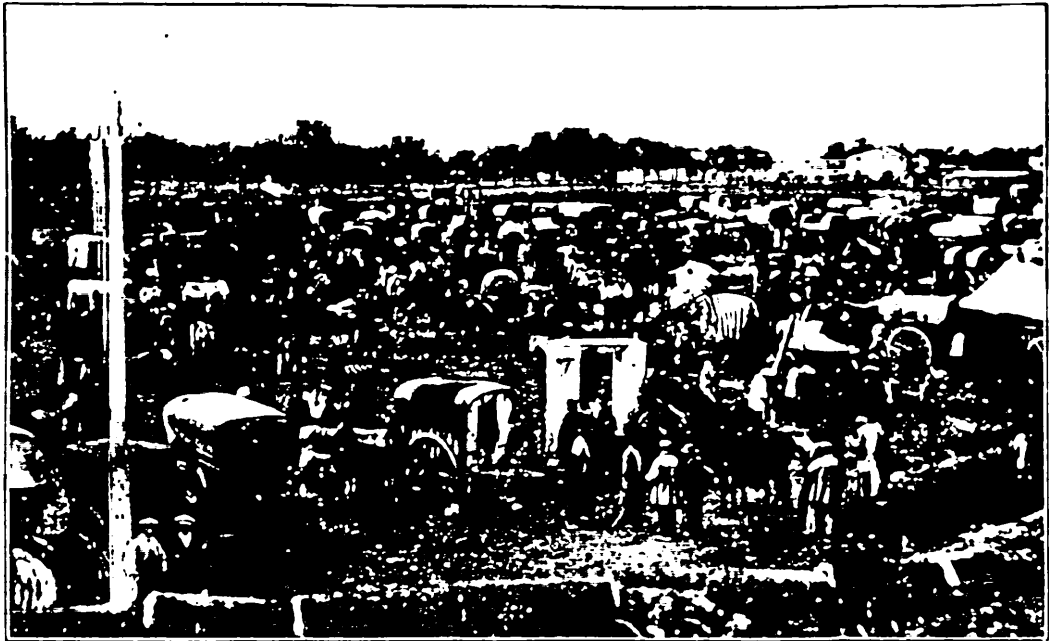
AS DE LA VIDA ACTIVA



... de la vida activa ...



... de la vida activa ...



Un aspecto de la Feria de Ganados, denominado "La Cuenda", que constituye una de las Ferias de más renombre por la importancia de ganados que a ellas concurren.

DEL CAMPO Y LA CIUDAD



Primitivo procedimiento de la recolección de algodón, en el término de Ciudad Real, que es una de sus principales riquezas.



Fig. 1. The main entrance of the building of the Ministry of the Interior, Moscow, 1935. The building is a typical example of the "Stalinist" style, with its massive, symmetrical facade and central tower.

LA CIUDAD Y EL CAMPO



Fig. 2. A large, open field or park area, possibly a sports ground, with a large, dark, irregular shape in the center, possibly a building or a large tree.

Año III

Núm. 103

VIDA MANCHEGA

Ciudad Real 26 de Marzo de 1914

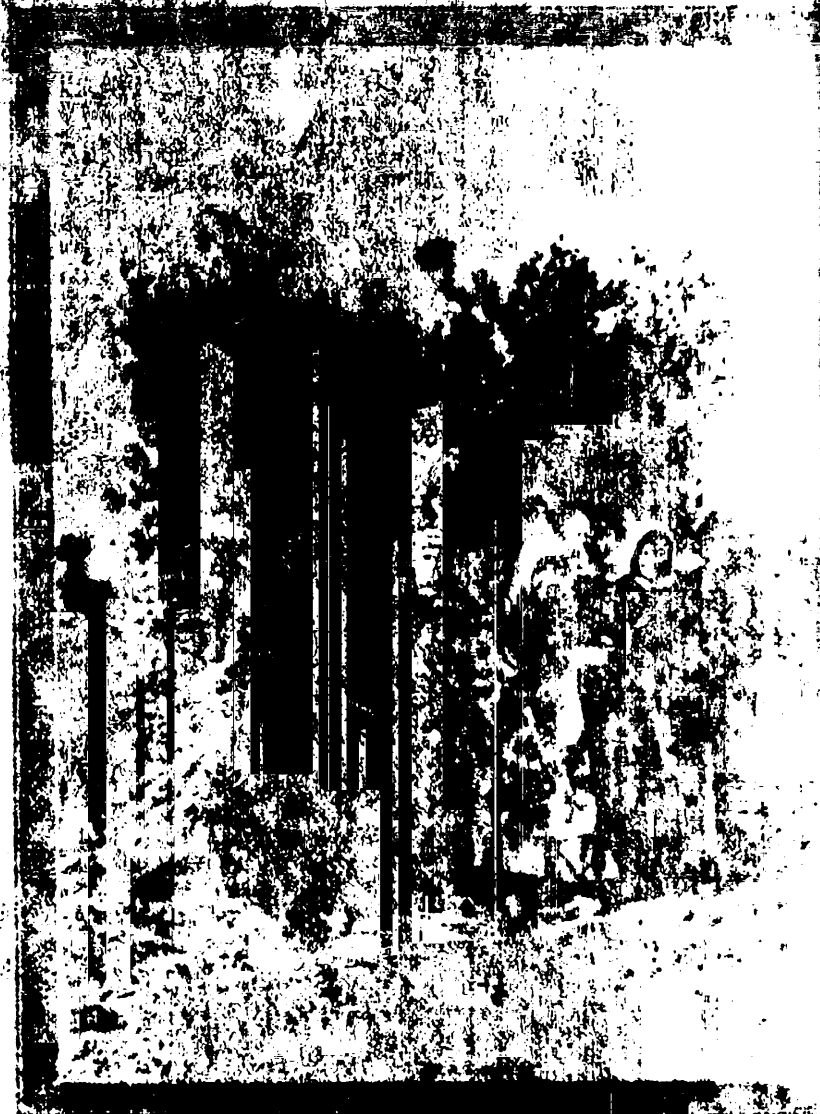
♥ ♥ ♥ FAENAS AGRÍCOLAS ♥ ♥ ♥



Mujeres disponiéndose a poner las señales para una plantacion.

MANCHESTER

SECRET



❖ ❖ LA VENDIMIA EN LA MANCHA ❖ ❖



Diferentes aspectos de la recolección de la uva en los campos de Ciudad Real.

1911-1912

32 IMIA EN LA MANHANA



32 of 32 pages of document. Document is a copy of a document.

mostly women appear working at the same time.

The division of tasks between men and women developed in grape collection in the out-of-the-field activities. While collection of the grapes was not sexually divided, their transport and the first processing of the grapes, and then all the subsequent activities of wine production, were all male.

The real function of division of tasks in every agricultural work was to justify and 'explained' wide gaps between male and female wages and of course reinforcing the perception of two social different groups.

During the rest of the year, few possibilities seems to have existed for agricultural day workers. As a result, subsistence activities, such as gleanings, had an increasing importance. Illegalization and prosecution of these practices, such as hunting and fishing, as well as picking up olives and fruit, intensified in the last decades of the century. ⁴⁵⁰

As a consequence of the crisis in trashumant sheep, many sheep owners shifted to non-migrant sheep, and instead of wool they started to market sheep cheese. ⁴⁵¹

Sheep cheese, the well known *manchego* cheese, was produced in small, almost family, 'factories', where both men and women worked. Plate 27 shows one of the stages of the cheese making production from the beginning of the 20th century, where no machineries were employed, in Manzanares, a town in the province of Toledo. Cheese making was an important occupation in other Manchego towns, but never expanded in the area nearby Almagro, for which is not fully discussed here.

⁴⁵⁰ In 1890, the mayor of Daimiel asked the Ministry to "give a general disposition to put an end to the conflicts that are frequently originated in that province concerning the circulation and selling of fish from private ponds that exist in that municipality". On March of that year, the Civil Guard denounced before the judge of Daimiel, "for selling fish in the public streets", Vicenta García, "who alleged that it came from the pond of la Motilla, property of Doña Juliana Vital, without any document to support this nor whether she was authorized by the owner for the fishing, according to art. 133 of the Law of Waters, of June, 1887". In response to this denounce, the Ministry published a Real Orden in the Gaceta de Madrid of July 9, 1890.

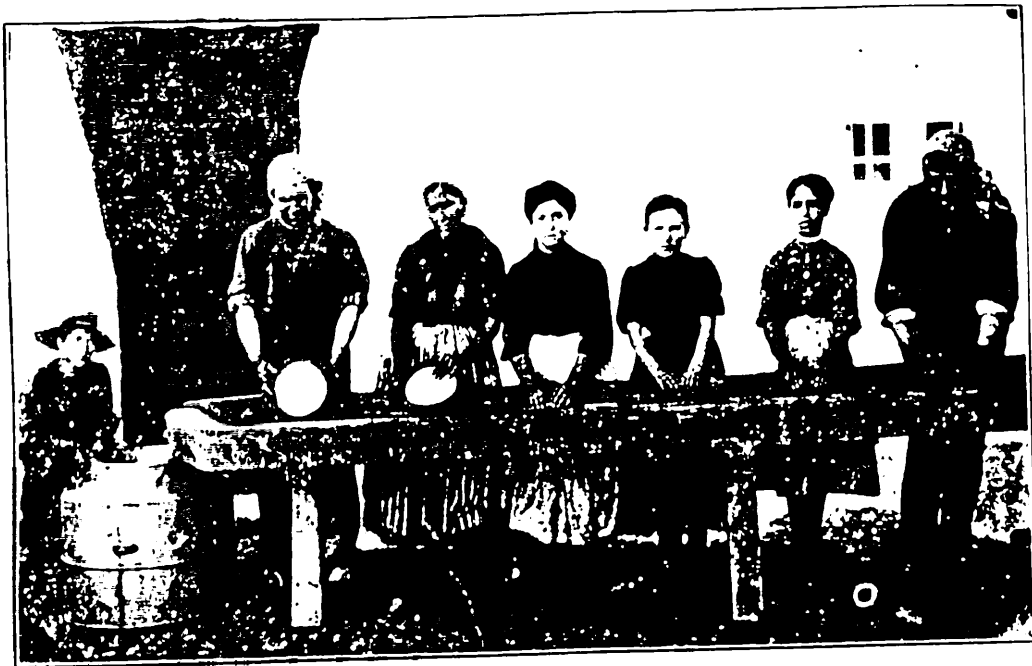
⁴⁵¹ Omer, M., "L'élevage ovin dans le Campo de Montiel (Ciudad Real)", Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez, XII (1976), p. 415-446.

at the same time. Tasks between men and women developed in grape vine field activities. With collection of the grapes was the first place of the grapes, and the first place of wine production was all made. Division of tasks in every sector later was to be gaps between men and women wages and of course of two social different groups. As a result, agricultural activities such as cleaning had the organization and participation of these practices, such as well as packing up and sold, incorporated in the owners of the chain in production. Owners shifted to non-meat sheep, and instead of meat sheep cheese. Sheep cheese the well known cheese was produced in small quantities, where both men and women were involved. The 20th century when no machines were used in the town in the province of Manchego town but never expanded in the Manchego, for which not fully discussed here.

In 1845, the mayor of Tarragona asked the government to give the position to the end of the century. That are frequently cited in the literature and the fact that private power that exist in the public sector. Civil Court then asked before the judge of Tarragona, in the public sector, Vicens Carda, who also that it came from the point of view of the public sector. Without any doubt to support this not whether the owner for the future according to art. 13 of the Law of 19th of June, 1890, in the public sector, the Ministry public and a Real Order in the Spanish Republic of 1900.

81 Omil, M. "El salvaje over dans le Campo de Manzanar (Canoa Real)". *Estudios de la Casa de Velazquez* 2 XII (1976): p. 415-440.

♦ ♦ ♦ PRODUCTOS MANCHEGOS ♦ ♦ ♦



MANZANARES. Operaciones de la fabricación del queso, que tanta fama goza.

THE MARCHES OF THE



THE MARCHES OF THE

2. f. The expansion of the lace industry

In this framework of increasing reduction of the local mechanisms to generate income, lace manufacturing appears as the only expanding activity. An increasing amount of women were working in lace making as a result of a process of expansion of investment of capital in the industry.

It has been seen in chapter II how some "factory" initiatives had developed already in the last decades of the 18th century. The first decades of the 19th century witnessed an important expansion of lace manufacturing, always following the same pattern of gender division of tasks revealed by the Cadaster for mid-18th century, women as lace makers and men as lace dealers.

The census of 1801 recorded 51 lace dealers. Their actual number could have been around 70, given that non householders were not recorded and some evidence of under recording of householders. The fact that they were still defined as *encajeros* indicates that a high degree of especialization still existed in the commercialization of lace. Table IV. 21. shows the evolution of the number of lace dealers during the 19th century and its importance as a male occupation.

Table IV. 21. Almagro. Relative importance of lace trade as a male occupation

	Lace dealers	% of male householders
1753	30	2,0
1801	51	2,5
1842	60 ?	5,2

Most worked for lace traders who provided them with both the lace and horses or mules to travel. Josef Ruiz del Valle denounced in 1801 Antonio Nebú, who had entered into an agreement with him "to give me his laces so that I sold them in different Towns, as is the style and condition of this trade (...) being his obligation in this matter being to give me Horse or Mule." Antonio Nebú had asked him to look for the horse himself, which Ruiz finally bought in

Pozoblanco (Córdoba), where he was selling lace. Nebú however failed to pay for it. 452

Lace dealers became increasingly involved in trade with articles other than lace. The passport issued in 1808 by the mayor of Almagro to a lace dealer permitted this "to go out to sell a portion of the said Laces, Ribbons, Blondes and other effects, to the towns of Toledo, Plasencia and other Parts, wherever he prefers to go for the selling of those articles" 453.

This varied commercial activity was difficult to control, although attempts were periodically made to force lace dealers to declare the articles they would carry in their way back to Almagro. 454

By mid-19th century the practice of trading with articles other than lace was so diffused that "lace dealer" had disappeared as an occupation from the 1842 census, and lace dealers were now recorded simply as "dealers".

The expansion of Almagro lace industry during the first half of the 19th century was fueled by the demand of a new article, the mantilla, or head-covering made of blonde. Blondes were a especial type of lace made with silk thread that gave the lace a beautiful touch and aspect. Highly fashionable since the late 18th century among Spanish noble women (as Goya's portraits show), mantillas became a must for all women who could afford them, passing from one generation to another as the most valuable article of dowries. 455

452 AMA, 18th century documentation.

453 AMA, December, 6, 1806.

454 In 1802 the local tax official complained about the uselessness of the repeated "edicts issued so that all lace dealers and traders, before going to their homes when they arrived go to the Administration to declare what they are introducing", and fined four lace dealers who "have returned to their homes without declaring or presenting themselves to the Administration, as is regulated." AMA, doc. 546.

455 When later in the century blondes became a fashion in other European countries, they had the same effect on the lace industry: "In 1875 (...) a new life opened up (...) with the invention by Leonard James of a quite different lace article (...) the new product embrace the sombre richness of Spain, using Chinese silk of a special quality and brilliance (...) a thick glossy patterning in the form of dense flowers. The new laces were referred to as Spanish blondes (blonde Espagnole) (...) Stoles, scarves, flounces and those head-coverings characteristics of the province of Southern Spain around Seville and known as andalouses, were all manufactured in vast quantities...". Earnshaw,

The increasing demand for lace attracted men to the lace bussiness, both as dealers and as entrepreneurs. In 1842 there were nine lace manufacturers in Almagro, of which the Torres brothers were the most important. A document of that year (an order given by the Town Council to the town's lace manufacturers) suggests that a process of industrial concentration was taking place, with some manufacturers abandoning the activity, such as José Enrique Font, probably Catalan, who declared to have "ceased in his bussiness and he is selling off his stocks, only reason of his permanence in this Town." ⁴⁵⁶

Other responses contribute to clarify what a "lace factory" was. Ramón Pérez declared that "he has no Lace Factory, and he only buys and sells". This suggests that a lace 'factory' was as minimum a workshop or warehouse. He is recorded by the Cadaster of that same year as dealing with leathers and grain as well, and as the owner of a grocery store. Agustín Gil declared to only have a lace-shop, while Concepción Romero, the only woman in the bussiness, declared to buy "only for herself".

A total of five individuals identified themselves as owners of a "lace factory". The utilities declared by Almagro's lace manufacturers in the 1842 census indicate (Table IV. 22.) that the Torres factory absorbed most of the lace production and the profits.

----- Table IV. 22. Almagro, 1842. Utilities of lace manufacturers (reales) -----				
	from trade	%	from lace	%
Don Tomás Torres	13.442	70,5	30.000	78,9
Ignacio Bautista Cámara	244	1,3	500	1,3
Ildefonso Aparicio	3.055	16,0	6.000	15,8
Agustín Gil y Gascón	1.100	5,8	1.500	3,9
Ramón Pérez	1.225	6,4	---	---
Total	19.066	100,0	38.000	100,0

Lace machines and Machine laces p. 101.

⁴⁵⁶ AMA, February, 1842.

2. g. The Torres lace 'factory'.

Félix Torres had founded his lace 'factory' in 1796. His career as entrepreneur can be followed through the account made by his son decades later to the local writer who provided Madoz with information on Almagro for the *Diccionario*. "He had to overcome endless obstacles", according to Madoz, among which the opposition of doctors, who thought that women "would remain blind with such a delicate work", and women themselves, who apparently refused to work:

the resistance of all of them was such, that despite the misery and extreme poverty in which they all were, not having other means of subsistence but to glean in the harvests of grain and olives, with the meagre earnings of 6 or 8 cuartos per day, D. Félix was unable to convince them of the advantages that the new occupation would bring them, and to make them leave an arduous and destructive work for another one, lighter and better paid. His constancy, however, suggested to him the idea of estimating them with immediate benefit, so he put into practice different and ingenious methods, among which the granting of dowries and clothes, raffling the first ones among the hardest workers, and the second ones among all of them. After great expense and hard moments he succeed in attracting them, so that in a few years there was a considerable amount of women who had already learned the work, but their production, that is, the blondes, were of inferior quality, and their price very high due to the need to import the raw materials from foreign countries. So intimidated at the excessive expenses, Don Félix's partners abandoned the enterprise. Despite this and the subsequent problems he experimented, because of the political events, he continued unaffected, adopting as many improvements as were possible, among them the use of part of the raw materials produced in the nation.

By 1830, the Torres factory had become one of the main centers of lace production in Spain, and a supplier of lace to most Spanish towns and the American colonies.

When in 1837 two members of the Parliament leaded an attempt to move the provincial capital from Ciudad Real to Almagro, among the arguments in favour of this decision, together with the more central situation of the town and its higher population, were the importance of Almagro as an industrial center, and especially the fame of the Torres factory:

In Ciudad Real there is none [industry]. In Almagro there is one in a very flourishing situation. The House of Señores Torres established there a factory of blondes, making an incalculable benefit to the country; and I take advantage of this moment to give Don Juan Bautista Torres a testimony of gratitude, because he

undoubtedly improved the situation of that province, with an establishment of which the towns have taken great advantage. Then the interest of private citizens have been excited, and each of them in their class have tried to employ in this type of industry their capitals; in such a way, that in the day they are in such an advanced state that Manchego lace is being sold in Granada, where it is being taken for Catalan. In Madrid itself I have witnessed a lady intelligent and expert on this genre who has taken these same blondes for Catalan. All this I say to express that this type of industry has produced in Almagro a wealth that is unknown in Ciudad Real. ⁴⁵⁷

That same year, diputees from Ciudad Real opposing to the project published a booklet in which, accepting the importance and high quality of Almagro lace, defined its lace industry as a one-man initiative:

It is not exact what was said in the Cortes about the lace industry having excited the interest of private individuals. The truth is that no one has invested their capitals except Don Tomás Torres, from Madrid, who has sent Catalan maestras to the province of Ciudad Real, occupying in the capital, much more in Almagro, and in up to 11 towns, the number of 3. 000 women. With much zeal and the advancement of high interests, he has succeeded in making this branch growing so much that Manchego lace came every month to this Court to compete with the best foreign and Catalan laces, and they are infinitely searched and appreciated, with no need of attributing them a different origin.⁴⁵⁸

Almagro lace was sold throughout Spain, exported to the American colonies, and even, the Diccionario proudly affirmed, to Paris. ⁴⁵⁹

Lace manufactures had become a major source of wealth for the factory owners. In the census of 1842 Tomás Torres appears as one of the prominent social figures of the town, living in the Plaza.

Only two years before he had been one of the main buyers of disentaile

⁴⁵⁷ Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes constituyentes, 76, p. 877, session of Wendsday, January 4th, 1837. Archivo de las Cortes.

⁴⁵⁸ Memoria acerca de la proposición que han presentado a las Cortes los Sres. Diputados Ceballos y Zaldívar... p. 12. The proposition was presented on January, 3, 1837.

⁴⁵⁹ "Warehouses have been established in Madrid, in different place of the Kingdom, and even abroad." And listed the "Houses in Paris which are currently purchasing Almagro laces: Mr. Chatan, Cite Trevisé, num.14, Mme. Euphemie Chaîne, rue du gros Chenet, num.9, Mme. Aglae Vesin, rue du gros Chenet, num. 4, Mr. Violet, rue de Saint Denis, num. 317."

lands in Almagro. ⁴⁶⁰ He gave in lease a third of the extension acquired, but cultivated the rest with wage workers. His pastures were grazed by his 420 sheep and 60 pigs. He owned also olive groves. By investing the profits of his succesful industrial activity in the reproduction of the figure of the traditional landowner, he had joined the ranks of the Almagro elite. ⁴⁶¹

Lace manufacture had created in Almagro a new type of wealth, of which, however, lace workers themselves enjoyed a very small part.

The organization of labour of the lace industry

According to Madoz, in 1827, at his death, Félix Torres had "left some 2.000 persons taught, who manufactured quite regularly. Later, his son Don Tomás took over the establishment and followed by his brother Don Andrés, to which he left its direction, they both speeded up the training of the workers to such a degree that in 1840 they amounted to 4. 652 "plus 105 dependants"; in 1842 amounted to 6. 000 and today there are 8. 041", distributed, as it was explained in chapter II, by over 20 towns of the region.

Table IV. 23. Evolution of the labour force of the Torres lace factory

1827	2.000
1840	4.757
1842	6.000
1852	8.041

⁴⁶⁰ He payed 3. 260.000 reales for a estate of 1.546 Ha. Quirós, ob. cit., p. 219.

⁴⁶¹ The figure of Tomás Torres, a merchant dealing in lace and entrepreneur himself, contradicts the interpretation of the social origin of buyers of disentailed lands given by Herr, for whom "the beneficiaries of the sales (...) were primarily people who drew their resources from the redistributive economic force of the state or the church or from the productive force of agriculture." Herr, *Royal finances*, p. 747.

This labour force was integrated by women of all ages. Girls began to work at a very young age, taught by mothers, grandmothers or women neighbours. They were regarded as “real workers” very soon. As Table IV. 24. shows, of the 8.041 workers mentioned by the factory owner in 1852, 1.483 (18,5% of the total labour force) were, according to himself, girls under nine.

Table IV. 24. The Torres lace factory. Age composition of the labour force

Age groups	Workers	%
4 to 5	806	10,0
5 to 9	677	8,4
over 9	6.555	81,5

A document of 1842, the same year in which the Cadaster was collected, provides some clues to understand the organization of the lace industry in Almagro. The Director of the factory, Andrés Torres demanded in that year Eugenia López “to work in the elaboration of Blonde for his factory for the value of hundred and more reales, leaving in consequence the works belonging to other individual in the situation and state they are”. Despite being, he claimed, “the worker who has been here the longest”, she was acting “against the interests of her principal, because in this way she delays the making of many laces.” ⁴⁶²

Eugenia López acknowledged the content of the demand, and declared that she was “ready to cease in the work she is doing in one of her pillows for the House of Agustín Gil y Gascón, if they grant her the term of one month to conclude the piece of work, and in this way not waste what she has already done”.

In his resolution, the constitutional mayor attempted to definitively solve the problem of the labour force, by prohibiting the Town’s lace manufacturers “in no way to admit those who are workers of others to work in their factories,

⁴⁶² AMA, February, 1842.

without having first guaranteeing that they have finished the piece of work they were doing for the first manufacturer". For what regards the case, "the pillow of the said Eugenia López will be taken by his owner D. Agustín Gil Gascón".

This document throws new light on what the use of the work 'factory' indicated. Lace makers could work at home, "taking in the work". The widespread use of the word "Fábrica" did not mean a building where workers worked with the tools provided to them by the managers.

Yet, at the same time, the role of the lace manufacturers went beyond "buying and selling", as the lace trader Ramón Pérez had described his work. The manufacturer *owned the lace pillow, distributed the raw material, and organized the lace pieces*, distributing the work. Lace makers could be working in parts of a whole piece, such as a *mantilla*, and sinchronization was needed in order to finish the piece on time.

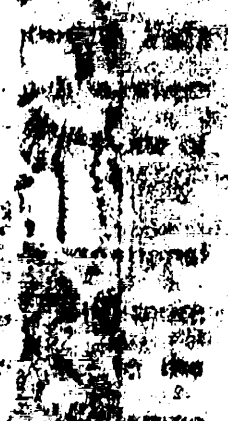
Plate 28 shows a picture of "women workers of one of the many lace 'factories' that exist in this town", published in 1916 by the local journal Vida manchega. Six lace makers of different ages held their lace pillows, while others show some lace pieces. Three little girls appear also in the picture, at least one of them working at her pillow.

In the rest of the towns of the Campo de Calatrava, where occupational structure was more concentrated in few activities, lace making appears still more clearly as women's main occupation in mid-19th century. According to the entrances of the Diccionario corresponding to the different towns of the Campo de Calatrava, in Almodóvar del Campo "besides agriculture and livestock, there are some looms in which women weave cloth for themselves; others occupy themselves in the making of blondes that after they present to the factory of Almagro in its office of Puertollano". In Argamasilla, "elaboration of blondes for the factory of Almagro"; in Ballesteros "some women work in the manufacture of blondes for the factory in Almagro"; in Calzada de Calatrava, "elaboration of blondes by women for the factory in Almagro"; in Granátula, "elaboration of esparto grass by men and of lace and blondes by women for the Almagro factory"; in Mestanza "women occupy themselves in making blondes for the factory of Almagro"; in Pozuelo, "elaboration of blondes for the factory of Almagro"; in

A black and white photograph of a group of approximately 12 people, including men, women, and children, posed together in a formal setting. The group is arranged in three rows, with some individuals standing and others seated or kneeling. The image is framed by a thick black border.

[illegible]

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.



output, there
with
a factory of
blenders for
nap-lature
laboration of
laboration of
gro factory
a factory of
Imagero

Puertollano, "elaboration of blondes, in which 1.200 women occupy themselves, for the Almagro factory"; in Torralba there are "1.500 lace makers, dependents of the Almagro factory"; in Valenzuela "elaboration of blondes by women, for the factory in Almagro".

Women's occupation in lace manufactures was massive. The 1.200 lace makers reported by Madoz in Puertollano were 43 % of its 2.520 inhabitants; the 1.500 of Torralba were 37% of its 3.980 inhabitants, that is, practically the entire female population was involved in lace making.

In the second half of the 19th century, all evidence seems to indicate the decadence of Almagro's lace industry. According to the industrial registers, in 1849 existed only two lace factories, one of them the Torres factory. Its profits seem to have increased until 1854. Since that year, the decadence of Almagro's lace industry was continuous.

The main factor of this decadence was the competition of foreign and Catalan laces. ⁴⁶³ Catalan lace competed with Almagro lace in the same markets that had been Almagro's traditional clients, such as Andalucía, where the presence of Catalan traders at the local markets has become familiar at the end of the 18th century. A report on the commercial activity of Antequera, in Málaga, described how

Catalans continuously circulate in this town, without fixing public stalls for the distribution and selling of the goods of their traffic, but walking around the streets doing their trade: this consists in laces, blondes, fans, stockings, scarves, and other goods of this quality (...) there are many providers of this type, for there is no day in the year in which some of them are not walking the streets. ⁴⁶⁴

Catalan presence in La Mancha itself was also common, as the report of 1837 on the importance of Almagro as an industrial center noted: "Commerce in Almagro is more flourishing (...) there are two fairs, one of them on August, 24, each year, where Catalan fabricants deposit many articles that provide the entire

⁴⁶³ "In 1855 there were 11 lace factories in Spain, 9 in the province of Barcelona, paying cuotas for an amount of 31.500 reales, while the other two were in Almagro, paying 7.000 reales." Sánchez, "Los sectores mercantiles e industriales", in *Historia de Almagro*, ob. cit., p. 494.

⁴⁶⁴ Parejo, *Industria dispersa e industrialización*, p. 245.

La Mancha by means of the distribution done by them to all the territory."

The fact that thread, the only raw material used in the manufacturing of lace, was also produced in Cataluña, suggest that its price made an important difference for non Catalan lace.

In 1895 there were some lace and blonde 'factories' in Almagro, more of a workshop type.

IV. 3. RUTE

As was seen in chapter I, Rute lived a sustained demographic growth since the 18th century.

Table IV. 25. Demographic evolution of Rute

	Householders	Inhabitants	coeff.
1753	1.333	4.876	3,6
1787		5.602	
1803	1.596	6.852	4,3
1811	1.921	6.802	3,5
1892	2.099	9.865	4,7

The sustained growth of the town was interrupted only by the last of the demographic crisis lived by the town around 1804.⁴⁶⁵

In 1803 the Town Council of Rute answered an Interrogatorio sent by the government.⁴⁶⁶ Answer no. 5 gives 1.596 householders, and a total population of 6.852 inhabitants (answer no. 7), which means a coefficient of 4,29 inhabitants per household. This Interrogatorio provides also the age and status of the population.

⁴⁶⁵ "The terrible epidemic and frightful famine they suffered in the year of 1804, as a consequence of the yellow fever and the fields' infertility". Andrés de Trevilla, Apuntes sobre diezmos, p.54.

⁴⁶⁶ Testimonio a las Preguntas y respuestas a q.e se ha contestado en los dos Ynterrogatorios..., 1803. AMR, leg. 56-8.

Table IV. 26. Population of Rute, by age and status. 1803

	Unmarried		Married		Widowers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
less than 7	675	616	--	--		
7 and <14	627	574	--	--		
14 and < 25	348	313	139	204	12	17
25 and <40	89	93	516	592	26	35
40 and <50	27	34	268	206	28	68
50 and <60	32	43	157	162	34	94
60 and <70	23	36	174	124	42	97
70 and more	24	33	75	71	51	73
	1845	1742	1329	1359	193	384

The sustained growth of its population suggests that Rute's productive structure was sufficient to maintain it. In the following pages I describe some of the changes undergone by Rute's economic basis and their effects on the local occupational structure.

3. a. Agricultural changes: the expansion of the olive tree

Around 1830, according to a contemporary writing on Rute's land, "the most fertile part produces little, for it is entailed; little wheat is collected, but of a very good quality, wine, olive oil and flax, and in its orchards vegetables and fruits grow well. ⁴⁶⁷

Madoz (1845) mentioned "wine, olive oil, cereals, seeds, acorns, raisins, figs and medicinal herbs" as its main products.

Besides the static impressions of contemporaries, uses of the land and agricultural production went through major changes in Rute during the 19th century. Table IV. 27. shows this transformation in the uses of the land.

⁴⁶⁷ Diccionario geográfico-universal, Barcelona, 1833.

Table IV. 27. Rute. Changes in the uses of the land (%) ⁴⁶⁸

	irrigat.	olive trees	grain	grain+ilex	vynes	unplowed
1752	0,8	4,8	21,4	12,6	5,4	54,6
1891-2	1,0	56,0	12,6	0,3	11,5	17,3

The changes undergone by Rute's agricultural structure can be summarized as follows:

1. reduction of unplowed lands
2. very important expansion of olive groves
3. more limited expansion of vynes
4. reduction of the land devoted to cereal
5. maintenance of the extension of irrigated lands

The first, and probably most relevant, of these changes, was the dramatic increase of the plowed land, which resulted in a decrease of the unplowed extension from 54,6 % to 17,3 %. Uses of unplowed land changed as well. As Table IV. 28. shows, the part of unplowed land devoted to thicket or forest increased during the 19th century.

Table IV. 28. Uses of unplowed land in Rute (%) ⁴⁶⁹

	untilled	thicket	forest
1752	79,3	7,2	13,5
1891-92	63,1	20,4	16,4

⁴⁶⁸ Ortega Alba, *El sur de Córdoba. Estudio de geografía agraria*, pp. 23 and 33.

⁴⁶⁹ Ortega Alba, *Ibidem*, pp. 25, 37.

Uses of unplowed lands were closely related to the maintenance of livestock. Chapter I described pork breeding as a highly profitable activity for Rute families.

The second main change was the expansion of the land devoted to olive groves, which increased from 4,8 % in mid-18th century to 56 % of the total land at the end of the 19th century. This expansion implied as a consequence the reduction of the extension devoted to grain.

Livestock

In 1810, during the war against France, the Junta Central de Subsistencias of Córdoba asked Rute's Town Council to declare about the town's livestock production. Table IV. 29. shows Rute's livestock in 1810 compared with livestock in mid-18th century, as reported by the Cadaster of Ensenada.

Table IV. 29. Rute. Evolution of husbandry, 1752- 1810.		
	1752	1810
cattle	626	275
sheep	3.275	1.303
pigs	1.995	1.555
goats	2.833	801
mules	619	nd

Although the data show an important decrease in Rute's livestock in less than six decades, the origin of the document suggests the underestimation of the real figures.

The loss of unplowed lands could have been due to the disentailment of the land undertaken during the 19th century. In 1837 a local writer vividly denounced the effects of the disentailment describing the many uses that sierras had traditionally had for its inhabitants:

Cordoba's sierra, given the immense wealth yielded when its extensive unplowed lands were used to advantage, and its subsequent fall into extreme poverty when they were given to a private person as payment for *juros* (...) Formerly the unplowed lands were crowded with all kinds of livestock and the yield of honey and wax was prodigious... 470

Even presuming an important under recording of livestock, figures for goats, sheep and pigs continued to be important, and show that livestock was still an important branch of Rute's economy and a fundamental source of income for Rute's population.

The effects that these agricultural transformations had on the occupational structure is described in the following pages.

3. b. The occupational structure in 1803

The document provides also data on a number of occupations. If the potential active population is defined as that between ages 14 and 60 (1.678 men and 1.861 women), information on occupations regards 75,7 % of all men in those age groups, but only 5,4 % of all women.

Table IV. 30. shows the structure of activity as recorded by this census:

470 Andrés de Trevilla, Apuntes sobre diezmos, p.25.

Table IV. 30. Rute. Structure of activity in 1803

	Male	%	Female
Agriculture			
farmers	296		
day workers	622		
agric. servants	23		
servants for cattle	24		
Total	965	75,9	--
Manufactures	88	6,9	--
Services			
Proffesions	22		
Trade	2		
Muleteers	82		
Teachers	4		2
Domestic servants	--		67
In the Army	41		
Total	192	15,1	69
Mendicants	25	2,0	31
Total	1.270	100	100

The comparison between this occupational structure and that of mid-18th century, as shown in Table II. 17. shows that male population occupied in agriculture has increased from 64,8% to 75,9%.

But its internal composition had changed. The number of farmers, a category including big as well as small proprietors, has increased from 11,3 % to 30,6 %, whilst day labourers, who formed 83,1% of the male agricultural population in 1753, are now 64,5 %. A further 5 % of permanent wage agricultural workers, working as servants for cattle or for the land, appear now as a identifiable group.

The reduction of the male agricultural population depending upon seasonal demand for agricultural labour suggests that the repartos of late 18th century were not completely unsucessful.

Manufactures have slightly decreased their relative importance in the total labour force, from 11,0 % to 6,9%.

Services occupies a slightly greater percentage of the male population (from 11,5 % to 15,1%), mainly due to the 41 men in the Military, given the war.

The situation of female occupations, on the contrary, is almost identical to that described by the Cadaster 50 years ago: women were either mendicants or domestic servants. The only change is nevertheless very significant: there are two women teachers in Rute now.

3. c. Wage agricultural labour and irregular family incomes

622 families in Rute, that is, 48,9 % of all Rute's families, had a male head of family who declared himself a day worker. Most of these families had thus incomes only during three or four months a year. Yet Rute's population was not starving nor massively outmigrating. Many alternative, irregular, sources of income must have existed, and all the family members must have been actively engaged in many different types of occupations. The following is the existing evidence on these irregular occupations in Rute.

Manufactures

Male householders occupied in manufactures had decreased both in their total and relative numbers since 1752. They were 156 in 1752 and 88 in 1803, which means a decrease from 11,0 % of all male householders to 6,9 %.

This decrease in manufacturing jobs was almost totally due to the decline of the textile activity. This had not completely dissapeared, but its labour force was now integrated by women, and so they are not included in the censuses. In 1811 the Town Council responded to the government that

there are no factories, but wool and flax looms; of these there are some and each one is occupied by a woman' and of wool there are only four, of which two make cloth, and each one occupies two persons; and the other two are of *sayal* and *jergueta*, and each occupies one person ⁴⁷¹.

⁴⁷¹ AMR, leg. 451/56/11. Question no. 19.

Two years later, in the Responses to a new series of questions on the local industrial wealth, Rute explained that

- There are no linen factories, but there are looms. up to the number of ninety five
- How many workers are occupied on them?
- One woman each loom.
- How many varas do they fabricate?
- One with another, and all together, 11. 590 *varas*, for they are not working most of the year.
- What utility do they yield, more or less, to their owners?
- 11. 590 reales, which is a real for each vara, in satisfaction of the personal work, since the weaving is only for what is needed for the expenses of the inhabitants.
- How much do the workers earn?
- It is already answered. 472

Domestic textile manufactures had become a women's work and apparently it was only for family and local consumption. In any case, the town's authorities define textile manufactures as unimportant, even if the 95 women weavers indicate an important sector of activity that the census ignore. It is for instance a larger occupational sector than that of the muleteers, which is seen as one of the

Textile manufactures continued to exist at least until the second half of the 19th century. The Dictionnary of 1830 mentioned "some small factories of rough wool and firewaters" as Rute's industry, and according to Madoz, by mid-19th century there were "linen and cloth looms, a cloth mill, 15 flour mills, of which seven within the town, 27 oil mills, and 18 alambiques to elaborate firewater."

Trade

Transportation continued to occupy an important number of Rute's men. Whilst in 1752 there were 77 muleteers (% of all male householders), there were 82 in 1803 (6,5 %) and 97 in 1813.

Trade consisted on the exports of the agricultural production, particularly olive oil and waterfires. According to Madoz there was "import and export of

472 AMR, leg. 56-15 (Interrogatorio, 1813).

cereals, exports of olive oil and aguardiente".

These muleteers returned with consumption items that were distributed then by retail traders in Rute. In mid-19th century there were 18 stores, 2 of luxury items, and the rest of fabrics and hardware.

3. d. The occupational structure in 1892.

In 1892, the population of Rute was of 9. 865 individuals, of which 50, 9 % were men and 49,1 % women. Average number of individuals per household was 4,7, excluding 34 individuals living in the two local charity institutions: the Hospicio, where 29 persons, among which five nuns, lived, and a Hospital with 5 more nuns.

Dispersed population had increased during the century and in 1892, 27,7 % of the total population of Rute, living now out of the town. This pattern of residence was related to changes in agriculture that have been described above.

The census of 1892 provides an occupation for each male householder (except in 47 cases defined as "without occupation or left blank), and for most male members of the household, regardless of age.

Table IV. 31. shows Rute's occupational structure of Rute at the end of the 19th century.

Table IV. 31. Rute. Occupational structure in 1892.

	Male	%	Female	%
Agriculture-livestock				
farmers	470		3	
day labourers	1.503		11	
hortelano	45		-	
Total	2.018		14	
Manufactures				
shoe-makers	83		-	
masons	51		-	
carpenters	31		-	
others	82		-	
Total	247		-	
Services				
Professionals	49		1	
Public employees	20		-	
Trade	31		-	
Muleteers	41		-	
Domestic servants	9		52	
Church	16		10	nuns
Military, guards	9		-	
Others	71		1	
Total	221		64	
Non occupied				
Proprietors	27		1	
Students	26		-	
Poor, invalid	15		8	
Without occupation	47			
Total	115			
Total	2.601		79	

3. d. 1. Day labourers and their families

Agricultural labor demand has been calculated for Andalucía around 108 work days for the period 1886-1890, despite the fact that "with very few exceptions

all crops were harvested by hand" 473. Supply of labour to meet this demand was both male and female, although a very low percentage of the female agricultural labour force was included, as has been seen, in the censuses. Female labour performed "important tasks such as weeding, binding, and stooking during the cereal harvest, and collecting fallen fruit during the olive." 474

Considering that the expansion of the cultivated land occurred in the second half of the 19th century, it is likely that the demand for agricultural labour was even lower until then. In any case, evidence shows that day workers had no occupation during most part of the year.

In 1815 the Mayor impulsed a series of public works financed in order to employ some of the most needy of these unemployed day labourers:

for the purpose of repairing the impractical streets (...) he planned to construct fountains and public works, and the funds (...) appear to have been invested in hiring many day labourers to work on the roads near the towns, and in public places, given that these lacked occupation by virtue of the scarcity of water and the shortage of the crops 475.

Day workers worked for wages for a maximum of three a year, and probably the less able of them, much less. The rest of the year, they were occupied in hunting or fishing 476, in collecting fruits, in robbing. But above all, they lived in families, and they would send their daughters to serve, their wives to wash clothes.

There was a number of activities than women did for wages, and are extremely difficult to trace, such as wet nursing of foundlings, or washing. Wet

473 Simpson, "Technical Change, Labor Absorption and Living Standards in Rural Andalucía, 1886-1936", p. 14.

474 Simpson, *Ibidem*, p.

475 "Representación de Bartolomé de la Cruz Tellado, vecino de Rute, sobre que para redimir aquel Pueblo de las insoportables vexaciones que sufre por el abuso que hace a su autoridad el Alcalde mayor D.n Manuel de Santo Domingo, se le separe de aquella vara." AHN, Consejos, leg. 3365/30.

476 Madoz' Diccionario mentioned among Rute's activities, "hunting of hares, rabbits and perdidces; and fishing of small fish."

nursing by peasant women is extremely difficult to trace, but the fact the 1892 census roll lists a number of families where a child with "Expósito" as last name lives indicates almost with all certainty that these are adopted foundlings. 477

There was no Foundling House in Rute, but there was one in Lucena, where Rute's foundlings were taken. Given the customary practice of Foundling Hospitals of placing foundlings with peasant women, probably many of them were taken to Rute, which, as a higher place, was regarded as healthier. 478

Laundry was another source of income for poor families. As it was seen in chapter II, laundry had been traditionally done at the fountains and rivers outside the town. When in the second half of the 19th century running water and some fountains were installed in the town, women began to do the washing in them, saving time. By the end of the century the situation was apparently causing the constant dirtiness of these public waters. In 1898 the Town Council attempted to solve the situation prohibiting "washing clothes, dogs, vegetables and dirty in any other way the waters of the public fountains", encouraging instead the use of rivers and fountains 479. By the last years of the 19th centuries there were *lavaderos*, or wash basins as well 480.

Laundry for the members of own's family was unpaid as elsewhere. All the work done unpaid by women as part of their domestic work is very difficult to document. An exception is the *blanqueo* or liming of the houses, characteristic of the region. "all the houses of the town, and especially those inhabited by more

477 There were at least twelve adults whose last name is Expósito and had, against the customary use in Spain, no second last name. Some children can also be identified as foundlings: Ana Expósito, 10, lives in Zambra, with Ana María Campos Montes, a widower, 48, her son and her two daughters whose last names are Castro Campos.

478 To the question 18 of the *Interrogatorio* of 1803, Rute answered: "there is no Foundling Hospital in this town, foundlings are taken to the town of Lucena, distant two leguas." AMR, leg. 56-8.

479 "As long as waters run through their public and natural ways, all can use them to drink, wash clothes, pots or any other thing." Art. 331 of the municipal Regulations.

480 "owners of wash basins are obliged to divert the dirty waters from these, avoiding all blockage or stagnation." art. 204 of the Municipal Regulations, 1898, AMR, leg. 47-2.

than one family, must be white washed at least twice a year", according to 1898 Regulations.

The men who did this work appear in the census as encaladores, that is, they worked paid. They were hired by the wealthy families that did not employ their women in such a task.

3. d. 2. Domestic manufacturing of pork products

According to the Diccionario published in 1833, in Rute "livestock is a branch of industry, mainly that of pork, for the abundance of acorn (...) very good hams and cecina are made here" ⁴⁸¹. Some years later, around 1845, Madoz pointed out that Rute's hams were "the best of all Andalucía".

The altitude of Rute, its fresh winters, were the ideal conditions for the manufacturing of hams as well as other pork products.

Since neither of the censuses or other sources consulted makes any reference to factories of pork products, it can be deduced that manufacturing of these products was completely domestic. In the late 19th century the situation was the same, probably the strong tradition of domestic production prevented any attempt of converted it into an industrial product.

The process of production started with the breeding of the pigs. Pigs were mainly fed with acorn, and municipal regulations to prevent people to "thresing acorn" or *varear bellota*, are constant during the century.

Although the extension of unplowed land decreased from 54,6 % to 17,3 % of the total extension during the 19th century (as Table IV. 27. has shown), this was still sufficient to maintain them.

Pigs were breed in the remaining communal lands or kept in family corrales or poultry yards, a practice regulated by municipal regulations. Article 194 of those of 1892 says: "the presence of pigs is forbidden within the town, at least 300 m. from the last house of the town".

In most of Spain the pig-killing season took place during the winter

⁴⁸¹ Diccionario geográfico-universal. Barcelona, 1833.

months, in order to take advantage of cold temperatures needed for the products to be "cured". According to the late 19th century municipal regulations, in Rute "Pig-killing for public consumption is forbidden during the months of May, June, July, August and September" ⁴⁸². The fact that Rute's Town Council had to intervene to forbid pig killing during summer months clearly indicates that this was a widespread activity round the year.

Pork products were then exported by local muleteers.

In conclusion, Rute's occupational structure was characterized, according to the census of 1892, by two main features. First, only 79 of the 4.846 women of Rute (or 1,6 %), had an occupation. The rest, that is, almost half of Rute's adult population, lived upon their fathers' or husbands' earnings.

Second, 30 % of the entire male population defined themselves as day labourers, that is, living upon agricultural wages. As the demand for agricultural labour was limited to a maximum of three months a year, an alternative explanation for the survival of Rute landless families is needed.

A whole range of occupation existed that have left no trace in the censuses. They were paid activities (such as women's wet nursing or laundering) and also unpaid activities (such as men's hunting, children's fruit picking, women's gleaning or domestic manufacturing of pork products).

⁴⁸² AMR, Article 195.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has aimed to explain why the expansion of wage labour, as expression of the new relations of production developed by capitalism, occurred in a gendered way.

The fundamental 'prevalent assumption' about this historical process is that the gender division of labour was an outcome of the expansion of capitalist relations of production. In order to test to what extent this was so, I set my research in the mid-18th century, and centered it on peasant societies where capitalist relations of production were not yet developed. I have used the Catastro de Ensenada as the main source to describe the work organization of peasant Spain in the mid-18th century

The Catastro clearly shows that a strict division of labour between women and men existed in pre capitalist Spain. Furthermore, the notion of worker as the male head of the household, regarded as a characteristic ideological outcome of the 'family wage' of 19th century industrial capitalism, was already there. Not only those women who worked unpaid in the family farm, such as the Pasiego women farmers, or those who worked in family business such as Rute's domestic producers of pork products, or female relatives of artisans or textile workers, but even Almagro's lace makers, who worked for the market and were highly skilled, full-time workers, in an industry undergoing expansion, were not identified as workers. In fact, the Catastro failed even to mention lace making as an activity in Almagro.

The reason for women's exclusion as workers was neither an error, or a 'technical' oversight. In fact, the exclusion of women's work meant the state's failure to collect the corresponding taxes, as some angry contemporaries had rightly pointed out, and was much debated and discussed. It regarded women's work as of two types:

1. Women's unpaid work (at home, on the farm, or in the family workshop) was excluded by Catastro makers although its existence as work, and even its 'market value' were recognized.

2. Women's paid work was apparently intended to be included but it was in fact excluded from the final data.

The fact that all male householders, on the other hand, were identified as workers, regardless the seasonal, unskilled, or unpaid character of their occupation, further indicates that the Catastro's notion of worker was more an indication of social position than the actual description of the activity performed. Furthermore, the individuals' status as workers appeared clearly linked to their family status. In this way, families were implicitly defined as sustained by their male head's occupation.

The analysis of the Catastro, not only as a source of data on occupations, but as a source in itself on the 18th century notion of work and how unpaid and paid work were thought of, showed that the exclusion of women from consideration of workers or producers was not due to any characteristic of their work, but to their own *status as wives*. Equally, the systematic consideration of men as producers, their definition as workers, was not linked to their actual occupations, but derived from their *status as husbands* or heads of households.

This clearly suggested that a gender construction of work existed prior to the expansion of capitalist relations of production that should be described and interpreted independently of it.

1. A changing peasant economy

The second thing this thesis aimed to describe was the historical sequence of the construction of the gendered supply of labour.

The situation of the mid-18th century proved to be a vantage point to understand the changes, the transition from one situation to another. During the second half of the 18th century, major changes occurred in the Spanish economy and society. Historians point to population growth as the first of these changes, which led to increasing urban and rural demand for goods and services, increasing commercial exchanges, changes in the productive structures in order to meet this new demand, and so on.

The effect that these changes had on the organization of work has usually

been described as increasing urbanization, salarization, and diversification of work opportunities. Emphasis has been placed on the quantitative features of this process.

Yet growth was not occurring without altering the social structures. As underlined recently by economic historians, the demand for goods and services generated by 18th century European urban growth was a consumer, not a factory, demand. That is, it was the private demand of households (for manufactured goods such as textiles) that had been the initial impetus.

Seemingly unconnected with this, one of the striking features of the second half of the 18th century was the amount of pamphlets, books and even pieces of legislation criticizing women's working behaviour. These criticisms can be summarized in one: women were not occupying their proper place. Connecting this ideological offensive to the economic changes that were taking place reveals a new aspect to these changes.

This growing urban demand affected women particularly. Urban and peasant women alike were affected, those who provided nearby town markets with vegetables and dairy, or more distant markets with smuggled fabrics, such as Pasiego women; those who manufactured costly articles such as lace, stockings or ribbons, which were then sold in the cities by male and female street sellers, those who became domestic servants.

Chapter III sought to describe 18th century discourse on women's and men's places. It has shown how a notion of their *proper occupations* was the fundamental building block of this definition. The traditional dichotomy between public and private was based upon it, and women's place in the home was a commonplace of moral and lay texts.

In his "Defensa de las mujeres", Feijóo, considered one of the first advocates of equality between men and women, criticized that there were men who affirmed "that the highest a woman's capacity can achieve is to govern a hen house", and "that the woman who knows most, knows how to classify a chest of linen". Arguing against these ideas, Feijóo reasoned that "these discourses against women are proper of superficial men. They see that generally [women] *know only those domestic trades that they are destined for*, and from

this men deduce (...) that women are not capable of anything else." 483

Feijóo was writing in 1724. What he is telling us is that housework (activities such as "ordering a chest of linen" or "governing a henhouse") was the common notion of women's 'proper place' at his time. 484

The norm on 'separate spheres' has been interpreted as complementary spheres and emphasis has been placed on the 'importance' of women's domestic role, especially on farms. By analyzing moral texts and norms within the legal and social framework in which the ideal of 'separate spheres' developed, the hierarchical nature of this structure is rendered clear.

The ideological offensive has been here described as involving the state in a fundamental way, but also a whole range of individuals and groups who had a role as opinion makers and law makers, such as guilds, town councils, parish priests, or doctors. The pressure to adapt to the norm was particularly strong in small communities such as most peasant societies.

In conclusion, the mid-18th century shows that most of the features that tend to be regarded as caused by the rise of a labour market, such as the division of tasks between men and women, the wide differential wage, or local and state regulations prohibiting female access to some sectors and wage activities, existed prior to the rise of a labour market.

In fact, only the existence and influence of these elements explain why the market did not follow its usual profit-seeking dynamic, employing women (cheaper workers) in preference to men.

Beneath the unanimous criticisms of governants and moralists, is possible to discover their also unanimous rationale: by walking the roads, selling in the markets, outmigrating in order to earn higher wages, women were abandoning their domestic duties, housework and the service of their families.

So, which was women's place? The model of women's work put forward

483 Feijóo, *Teatro crítico*, p. 58.

484 Although they have not been studied here, literary and moral texts from the 17th century and 16th centuries, show identical conceptions. Mariló Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres españolas en el siglo XVII*, SIGLO XXI, 2 ed., 1994.

by 18th century reformers, Campomanes' "spinning wife", working hard at home in manufactures for the market while taking care of housework and childcare, rested on 'moral' grounds, with no mention made of wages.

By analyzing on which occasions this model was enforced, the question of paid and unpaid work emerges as the fundamental behind the discourse on women's work. The comparative approach has proved, hence, useful to answer this question.

2. A regional pattern of labour supply?

Comparisons between the work organization of different regions and countries were common in the writings of 18th and 19th century travellers. As Spanish Enlightened reformers tried to import the hard-work model that they thought was the cornerstone of English successful industrialization, they increasingly criticized the despisal of manual work characteristic of Spanish society.

Some of the texts of the polemic on vile trades point to remarkable differences between, for instance, Catalan consideration of work as the clue to understand uneven regional growth.

Some try in vain to attribute the hard-working customs of those naturals to the climate, the geographical situation, the mountaineousness of the country and the need to subsist; they fail to notice that these same causes, that concur in other provinces as well, do not produce in them the same effects. More erroneous are others who, ignoring that in Cataluña the arts and trades have been traditional since the 13th century, have thought that the war of succession at the beginning of this century and the cantonment of the troops there encouraged the industry and the manufactures, not noticing that of the endless branches of trade that flourish in that Principado, only five or six are related to clothing, armament and supplies for the armies..." 485

The model described by these texts identifies Northern Spain as hard-working regions, and Southern regions with idleness. This is in turn explained as a consequence of the expulsion of Moriscos and Jews (well known as skilled

485 Antonio de Campmany, "Antiguas artes de Barcelona" (1792), in A. Elorza, "La polémica sobre los oficios viles", p. 276.

artisans and farmers), which would have led many to avoid these occupations in order to avoid being identified as such.⁴⁸⁶ These texts point to cultural factors, values, as accounting for these differences.

Throughout Europe a similar pattern seems to have existed between the Mountain and the Planes. Urban travellers remained astonished at the work organization of mountain people, and descriptions abound of their strength and the hardship of their living conditions. One of the main elements of this model was women's work, described as constant in Northern regions and as non-existent in the Southern ones. The surprised tone used to describe the customs of other peoples suggest that these authors had previously thought of work organization as Nature given or ordained, rather than as a social construction.

What the cases studied here show is that the landownership system is the key factor accounting for the different systems of work organization. In turn, these generated different work cultures and sets of values defining acceptable and non acceptable work behaviours, including gender related work patterns.

The dynamics behind the cases described here are completely different. In land tenancy systems based on family farms, such as the Pasiego system, women were expected to work intensely on almost every task. Evidence shows that they did, often bearing the heaviest work load. The almost non existence of wage labour explains that the division of labour was not the mechanism on which the social differentials between men and women were based (rather, leisure practice, or domestic work).

In Southern Spain, on the contrary, where limited access to the land led to a high proportion of day workers, wage labour was fundamental as a source of earnings and as a source of social identity. Wages were regulated by the Town Council, and women had very limited access to them. Only during peak seasons had they some access, in very few tasks, and earning 30 to 50 % of the average male wage. Male workers from outside the area would be hired in preference to employing women in highly paid, socially valued sectors such as cattle raising, transport, etc. A disaster such as a war had to occur, which put the flocks at risk,

⁴⁸⁶ Elorza, *Ibidem.* p. 252.

with no men available, before women were hired as shepherds for the large trashumant flocks.

The comparison between the prevailing discourse on the organization of work and the actual organization of work shows that the model of the spinning wife was realized only where outside activities were done for wages. It was the labour market that was not women's place.

Whilst it is true that values and norms favouring work existed, they were related to family farms and to regions where wage labour was not a common mechanism of access to earnings. In Southern regions, women worked also as domestic workers, in textile domestic manufactures or in other domestic production for the market, as was the case in Rute.

Ultimately, the pattern of wage labour derived from the regional system of landownership (that generated different work systems). The fact that family farms were more extended than first thought even in Southern regions only reinforces the importance of the family as unit of production in peasant economies.

3. 19th century changes in the occupational structure

Chapters II and IV described the changes in the occupational structures of the three areas studied, in particular the forms taken by the expansion of wage labour and the varying patterns in the different sectors of activity.

On the basis of the numbers of activities listed in the different censuses used, an evolution can be traced.

Number of activities mentioned by censuses			
		Men	Women
Pas	1752	4	1
	1877	49	16
Almagro	1752	181	16
	1801	71	3
	1842	62	5
Rute	1752	116	2
	1803		2
	1892	84	7

Although the number of activities with which the occupational structure was described depends to a large extent on the degree of detail with which censuses were taken, the existence of gender patterns of occupational diversification is clearly visible.

The divergent tendency of men's occupations in the different cases is easy to explain. In Pas the extremely coherent structure of activity (with practically all households engaged in the same occupation) developed towards a more diversified structure when state officials and professionals appeared. Rute and Almagro represent to a certain extent the different pattern. They were towns of an 'urban' character, with an important population of artisans covering the manufacturing of practically all types of goods. Furthermore, the censuses expressed also the traditional guild structure, representing as different types of workers individuals who were engaged in the same type of manufacture.

This occupational structure was reversed during the 19th century, and growing 'imports' of manufactured goods from larger towns led to the disappearance of many local manufactures.

Some common features of the occupational structures studied can be described:

1. there was an important percentage of the male population consistently non occupied. This was composed of rentiers and proprietors, but also the poorer

classes, vagrants and mendicants, and by unemployed or underemployed, handicapped, etc.

2. The importance of non-waged workers is also clear. In areas like Pas, where agriculture was based on a system of family farms, farmers remained the most important group. In towns of a certain importance, this strategy seems to have been favoured by workers, who tried to become self employed as artisans, or shop keepers. It was a way of distancing themselves from the agricultural ranks, more a social than an economic move upwards, an alternative to outmigration.

This strategy was possible only as a family activity. Artisan workshops as well as most service activities developed as family enterprises. The head of the family's control over the labour force of the members of his family is facilitated by workshops where craftsmen employed wage labour (apprentices) when their profits permitted them to pay wages, having always the choice of shifting to family (unpaid) labour when profits decreased.⁴⁸⁷

Self employed workers were also the professionals, who established themselves as providers of services after studying in the cities. That this strategy was regarded as highly desirable by the families is supported by the fact that they spent important amounts of money in the education of their male children.

With regard to wage workers, a problem arises from the traditional way in which they have been defined, individuals working for wages. But when the amount of individuals actually within this category is calculated, all male householders who define themselves as day workers are included. In regions with a high percentage of day workers, the property system and extensive agriculture caused a demand for labour restricted to a few months, a maximum of five or six per year. During the peak seasons, women and men, but also

⁴⁸⁷ In 18th century Antequera, the town in the southern limit of Rute, one of the main centers of textile manufactures, domestic looms functioned in this way. When increasing prices of raw materials obliged the manufacturers to reduce their costs, this reduction "affected the only variable that fabricants could modify: labour. In this way, labour costs were reduced to the minimum, keeping only those that required an specialization, such as the full, the dye or the shearing of cloth (...) manufacturers compensate this loss doing by themselves, their children and families many of the weaving operations, and so with few wages compensate the year..." Parejo, Industria dispersa e industrialización, p.239.

children and old people, worked for wages. But during the rest of the year, the demand for workers practically disappeared. Domestic servants, who were for the most part young women, were the largest waged group, working also on a full-time basis. Other related activities, such as wet nursing or laundering, were instead sources of more permanent earnings throughout the year.

Those individuals effectively maintaining themselves on a permanent basis through wages were a small group of the peasant population even in the late 19th century. In Pas they amounted to very few families, and in all cases owned some cattle. That is, they had alternative sources of income and their reliance on wages was never complete.

In Almagro and Rute their number was much higher. The most important group of wage workers were day workers. Pictured as the quintessential wage workers, they survived through means other than wages for the most part of the year, through for example family earnings such as those of their daughters' as domestic servants. In agricultural areas, industry was on a small scale, either domestic in nature, such as Rute's domestic production of pork products, or employing very few workers. These alternative sources of earnings made it possible for day workers not only to survive but permitted a population increase. Permanent outmigration, a possible solution to avoiding starvation, was not a general recourse.

Whilst wage labour was always only a limited income mechanism in peasant Spain, it became increasingly the most important source of political identity and the main mechanism of social mobility.

This leads to conclude that a) 'day workers' was more a status in peasant societies than a characterisation of a full time economic activity. It certainly did not mean that the worker was permanently making his living (not to mention his family's) from wages. Subsistence activities and, above all, pooling of family resources, are at the heart of existing working for income patterns.

b) The service sector was the first to develop as a modern waged sector where the gendered double labour market can be clearly perceived. In its lowest were women as domestic servants, in its highest, men as state employees and military.

4. The redefinition of the gender division of labour: the Rise of the (male) Wage Worker, the Rise of the (female) Unpaid Worker.

As a result of this process unpaid domestic work was the main female occupation in the second half of the 19th century.

----- Most common activity, according to censuses -----			
		Men	Women

Pas	1752	labrador	--
	1877	labrador	su casa
Almagro	1752	day labourer	lace maker
	1801	day labourer	none
	1842	day labourer	none
Rute	1752	day labourer	--
	1892	day labourer	no occupation

When new possibilities for wage work arose, women had to first come to terms with their duties as regards family work.

A report describing the difficulties in recruiting female workers for the tobacco factory of La Coruña at the beginning of the 19th century, makes this clear:

Regarding the women workers, I don't know what to say; the factory is so far away, the path winding along the seacoast isolated, with these Northeastern winds that make you walk bent over double, the winters very long and rainy, I (well) understand that a hundred women workers will not come to work. And when ships begin to arrive, fewer will come: one because she has a father, a brother, or a husband to serve, and they won't let them come (...) it is more worthwhile to get off to sea, unload salt, sardines, fish or collect sellfish and sell it in the street, than to be there (in the factory)." 488

488 Alonso Alvarez, "De la manufactura a la industria: la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de La Coruña", p. 19.

For women, housework conditioned timing, sector of activity and, above all, decisions on entry to factory work, of all types of wage work the least compatible with housework. Women's unpaid work (production of goods and services for the family and management of housework) was inextricably linked to women's unfavourable position in the labour market.

But the picture is more complex than this: families were units of redistribution of resources, and by investing most of their resources in their male members they acted as agents in the process of shaping men and women into a different class of wage workers. Families, not the market, prepared women to become domestic servants, and men to become qualified, better paid wage workers.

I have described gender as a social relation, not as a static system ⁴⁸⁹. It is formed by material and ideological elements. Although the formation of a supply of labour has been here defined as an economic process (to the extent to which it deals with production and distribution of resources), elements traditionally not defined as economic have been included in order to achieve a deeper understanding of economic processes.

Importance has been placed on ideas regarding women's and men's social places, and women's and men's appropriate occupations, because they have played a fundamental role in shaping women's and men's entrance to the labour market, as well as relative wage rates.

Work was primarily organized along social hierarchies which cannot be understood through quantitative methods. Such hierarchies are formed by social signs, cultural definitions and symbols. Anthropological works underline the role of signs in identifying social places of individuals, signs whose display is regulated by the communities, depending not on economic capacity, but on kinship or traditional hierarchies.

Male and female hierarchies became articulated around work because this developed in Western societies as the source of access to property rights, as the

⁴⁸⁹ E.P Thompson defined *class* as a dynamic relation, always being redefined, in opposition to the definition of class as a static system in The poverty of theory and other essays.

case of Cordoba women proves. And also because wages were a main source of income.

By comparing the different regional models of work organization and their historical evolution, gender has appeared as a *historical* construction. Although important differences can be pointed out in the gender pattern of labour supply, similarities are striking. Families are seen to behave in a very similar manner despite basic differences in work patterns, ability to expend, level of education, or inheritance systems.

The analysis developed in this thesis has focused on gender as to a large extent originating in and reproduced by families. It has seen gender structure as based on two elements: first, women's contribution to production.

Studies on proto-industrialization have long pointed to families as the basic working units of preindustrial Europe. The fact that families, not individuals, were the working units, explains how peasant populations compensated for strong fluctuations in labour demand and seasonality in agricultural work.

In practical terms, this means that regarding census figures for male householders engaged in agriculture as representatives of the total agricultural active population is a fiction and should be ended. An effort must be made to agree on figures of working population for preindustrial populations that take into account the reality of agricultural work, which in some areas included all members of the peasant families throughout the year, while in other areas included some men and women during some months of the year.

Second, the comparable effort of all family members did not mean a comparable access to family earnings. The systematic segregation of women as regards access to and use of these resources has been described. This segregation was achieved through a series of mechanisms, from the more aggressive to the softer, such as ideology internalized by women themselves.

This thesis has suggested that shifting the emphasis from production to consumption, yields a better understanding of production. Families worked as a filter, internally redistributing the income according to criteria which were based not on need or merit, but on rank and hierarchy. Access to family resources was

unequal for male and female family members', because it was regulated according to their intra-familial status.

The consistent differential in women's and men's wages is important for the argument that it was not the market that created gender differences. According to market theory, wage differentials would have disappeared as soon as a market for labour developed. Entrepreneurs' tendency to employ the cheapest labour would have resulted in the lowering of higher wages, which would then have tended towards equalization with the lower ones. Yet despite strong wage differentials men kept being hired in preference to women.

The process which economists term 'preferences' is socially constructed. Division of labour is not an historical constant, that is, different groups of individuals, or societies, have organized themselves around labour in different ways at different times. In any case, the performance of a task is not what defined a Worker, and both paid and unpaid work are expressions of social relations. The way in which societies organize their production is both cause and consequence of the internal organization of that society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, Lynn, Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany, Routledge, 1992.
- Alexander, Sally, Davin, Anna, and Hostettler, Eve, "Labouring Women: A Reply to Eric Hobsbawm", History Workshop, 8, 1979, pp. 174-182.
- Alonso Alvarez, L., "De la manufactura a la industria: la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de La Coruña (1804-1857)", Revista de Historia Económica, II, 3 (1984), 13-34.
- Alvarez de Colmenar, Juan, Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, où on voit une description exacte des Antiquitez, des Provinces, des Montagnes, des Villes, 5 vols., Leide, Pierre Vander, 1715.
- Amalric, Jean Pierre, "Un reseau d'enseignement elementaire au XVIII siecle: les maitres d'écoles dans les campagnes de Burgos et de Santander", De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne, XVIe-XIXe siècles, Editions du CNRS, Paris, 1987, pp. 9-27.
- Amsden, Alice H. (ed.), The Economics of Women and Work, Penguin Books, 1980.
- Arroyo, Ramón, "Noticias inéditas de la villa de San Pedro del Romeral a mediados del siglo XVIII", Altamira. Revista del Centro de Estudios Montañeses, 1-2-3, Santander, 1960.
- Artola, Miguel, et al., El latifundio. Propiedad y explotación, ss. XVIII-XX, Servicio de Publicaciones Agrarias del Ministerio de Agricultura, Madrid, 1978.
- Asensio Rubio, Francisco, Almagro y la Ilustración, Universidad Abierta, UNED, Ciudad Real, 1993.
- Aston, T. H., and Philpin, C. H. E. (eds.), The Brenner debate. Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Bahamonde, A., Martínez Lorente, G., Otero, L. E., Las comunicaciones en la construcción del estado contemporáneo en España: 1700-1936. El correo, el telégrafo y el teléfono, Madrid, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Transportes y Medio Ambiente, 1993.
- Barbazza, M. C., "L'épouse chrétienne et les moralistes espagnols des XVIe et XVII e siècles", Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez, XXIV, 1988, 99-137.
- Baroja de Caro, Carmen, El encaje en España, Labor, 1933.
- Barra, C., El encaje de bolillos. Estudio etnográfico, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1986.
- Barreda Fontes, J.M., and Carretero Zamora, J.M., Ilustración y reforma en La Mancha. Las Reales Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, CSIC, Madrid, 1981.
- Berg, Maxine, The age of manufactures, 1730-1830, 2nd edition, Routledge, 1994.
- , "Women's work, mechanisation and the early phases of industrialisation in England", in P. Joyce (ed.), The historical meanings of work, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 64-98.
- , "Women's Property and the Industrial Revolution", Journal of Interdisciplinary History,

- Bennett, Judith M., "Misogyny, Popular Culture, and Women's Work", History Workshop, 31, 1991, pp. 166-188.
- Boak, Helen, "The State as Employer of Women in the Weimar Republic", in W. R. Lee and Eve Rosenhaft, The State and Social Change in Germany. 1880-1980.
- Bose, Christine E., Jobs and Gender. A Study of Occupational Prestige, CBS Educational and Professional Publishing, New York, 1985.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, "Reproduction interdite. La dimension symbolique de la domination économique", Études Rurales, 113-114, 1989: 15-36.
- , "Stratégies de reproduction et modes de domination", Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales, 105 (1994), 3-12.
- Bourke, Joanna, From Husbandry to Housewifery. Agriculture, Economic Change and Housework in Ireland 1890-1914, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Bustelo García del Real, Francisco, "La población española en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII", Moneda y Crédito, 123, 1972, pp. 53-104.
- Cabral Chamorro, Antonio, Propiedad comunal y repartos de tierras en Cádiz (siglos XV-XIX), Cádiz, 1995.
- Calero, Antonio M., Movimientos sociales en Andalucía (1820-1936), SIGLO XXI, 1977.
- Callahan, William J., Honor, commerce and industry in eighteenth-century Spain, Baker Library, Boston, 1972.
- , "The Spanish Church", in William J. Callahan and David Higgs (eds.), Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century.
- , "La política económica y las manufacturas del estado en el siglo XVIII", Revista de Trabajo, 38, 1972, pp. 5-17.
- Calvo Alonso, Carlos, "El Catastro de Ensenada. Proyecto de Unica Contribución en la Corona de Castilla", in El Catastro en España. 1714-1906, Centro de Gestión Catastral y Cooperación Tributaria, Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda, 1988. vol.I, pp.89-132.
- Camarero Bullón, Concepción, Burgos y el Catastro de Ensenada, Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Burgos, Burgos, 1989.
- Carmona Badía, J., El atraso industrial de Galicia. Auge y liquidación de las manufacturas textiles (1750-1900), Ariel, 1990.
- Casado Alonso, H., "El comercio del pastel. Datos para una geografía de la industria pañera española en el siglo XVI", Revista de Historia económica, VIII, 3, 1990, pp. 523-548.
- Caspard, Pierre, "Les pinceleuses d'estavayer. Strategies patronales sur le marché du travail féminin au XVIIIe siècle", Revue Suisse d'Histoire, 36, 1986, 2, pp. 121-156.
- Castro, Concepción de, "Mercado y sociedad estamental en Campomanes", Revista de Historia económica, IX, 2 (1991), pp. 315-339.

- Clark, Alice, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century [1919], Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- Corchado Soriano, Manuel, La Orden de Calatrava y su Campo, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, Diputación de Ciudad Real, Ciudad Real, 1984.
- Davies, Andrew, Leisure, Gender and Poverty. Working-Class culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1930, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1992.
- Delgado, M. de los Angeles, Ciudad, Ramona, and Cabrera, Francisco, "Cofradías existentes en Chillón desde el siglo XVI", Notas etnológicas de la comarca de Almadén, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1985.
- Delphy, Christine, Close to Home. A materialist analysis of women's oppression, Hutchinson, London, 1984.
- and Leonard, Diana, Familiar Exploitation: A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies, Oxford, Polity Press, 1992.
- Díaz Pintado, Juan, "Los problemas agrarios de Almagro en el siglo XVIII", Historia de Almagro, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1988, pp. 41-84.
- , Conflicto social, marginación y mentalidades en La Mancha (siglo XVIII), Diputación de Ciudad Real, Ciudad Real, 1987.
- Díez, Fernando, "La crisis gremial y los problemas de la sedería valenciana (ss. XVIII-XIX)", Revista de Historia económica, X, 1992, 1, pp. 39-61.
- , Viles y mecánicos. Trabajo y sociedad en la Valencia preindustrial, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1990.
- , El Semanario de Agricultura y Artes dirigido a los párrocos, Madrid, Ministerio de Agricultura, 1988.
- Dobado, Rafael, "Salarios y condiciones de trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1758-1839", in Pedro Tedde (ed.), La economía española al final del Antiguo Régimen. II. Las manufacturas, Madrid, Alianza, 1982, pp. 337-440.
- , El trabajo en las minas de Almadén, 1750-1855, Ph. D. Thesis, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1989.
- Domínguez Martín, Rafael, "Sociedad rural y reproducción de las economías familiares en el Norte de España, 1800-1860", in Le Play, Campesinos y pescadores del norte de España, Madrid, Ministerio de Agricultura, 198 .
- , Actividades comerciales y Transformaciones Agrarias en Cantabria, 1750-1850, Santander, Tatín, 1989.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, "Algunos datos sobre médicos rurales en la España del siglo XVIII", in Hechos y figuras del siglo XVIII español, SIGLO XXI, Madrid, 1980.
- Donézar Díez de Ulzurrun, J., "Las estructuras agrarias en Castilla-La Mancha en el siglo XVIII: hacia la crisis del Antiguo Régimen", in Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha, vol.VIII, Conflictos sociales y evolución económica en la Edad Moderna, 2,

- Servicio de publicaciones de la Junta de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, 1988, pp. 163-181.
- Durán, María Angeles, "Una lectura económica de fray Luis de León", Actas de las I Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Estudios de la Mujer, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1983.
- Earnshaw, Pat, Lace machines and machine laces, B. T. Batsford Ltd. London, 1986.
- Elorza, Antonio, "La polémica sobre los oficios viles en la España del siglo XVIII", Revista de Trabajo, 2, 1968, pp. 69-283.
- Espinosa, Manolita, Encaje de bolillo y blondas en la ciudad de Almagro, Estudios del Museo de Ciudad Real, 14, 1984.
- Estatutos y Reglamento de la Asociación titulada Gremio de Dueños de Vaquerías de Madrid, reformados en Junta general extraordinaria de 16 de Enero de 1900 y sometida su aprobación a la Autoridad gubernativa, Madrid, R.Velasco, Impresor, 1910.
- Esteban Barahona, L.E., Agricultura y ganadería en Ciudad Real, siglos XIX y XX, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1991.
- Fernández Benítez, Carlismo y campesinado en Cantabria, Siglo XXI, 1988.
- Ferrer i Alós, Llorenç, "Estrategias familiares y formas jurídicas de transmisión de la propiedad y el estatus social", Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica, X, 3, 1992, pp. 9-14.
- Fine, Agnès, "A Consideration of the Trousseau: A Feminine Culture?", in Michelle Perrot and Alain Paire (eds.), Writing Women's History, Blackwell, Oxford, 1992.
- Folbre, Nancy, "Patriarchy in Colonial New England", The Review of Radical Political Economics, 12: 2 (summer 1980), 4-75.
- , "Exploitation comes home: A Critique of the Marxian Theory of Family Labour", Cambridge Journal of Economics, 6, 1982, pp. 317-329.
- , "The Unproductive Housewife: Her Evolution in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 16 (3), 1991, pp. 463-484.
- , "The paradox of caring labour", Feminist Economics, 1, 1, 1995, pp. 73-92.
- Fontaine, Laurence, "Solidarités familiales et logiques migratoires en pays de montagne à l'époque moderne", Annales, 6, November 1990, pp. 1433-1450.
- , Histoire du colportage en Europe (XVe-XIXe siècle), Paris, Albin Michel, 1993.
- , Le voyage et la mémoire: Colporteurs de l'Oisans au XIXe siècle, Lyon, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1984.
- Freeman, Susan Tax, The Pasiegos. Spaniards in No Man's Land, The University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- García Jiménez, Bartolomé, Historia de Rute en la Edad Moderna, Servicio de publicaciones de la Diputación de Córdoba, Córdoba, 1987.
- , Demografía rural andaluza: Rute en el Antiguo Régimen, Servicio de publicaciones de la Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, Córdoba, 1987.

- , Textos para la historia de Rute, Fundación H. nos Pino Morales, Rute, 1994.
- García Martín, La ganadería mesteña en la España borbónica (1700-1836), Ministerio de Agricultura, Madrid, 1988.
- García Sanz, Angel, "Jornales agrícolas y presupuesto familiar campesino en España a mediados del siglo XIX", in Anales del CUNEE, 1980, pp. 55-71.
- , "La agonía de la Mesta y el hundimiento de las exportaciones laneras: un capítulo de la crisis económica del Antiguo Régimen en España", in García Sanz and Garrabou, Historia agraria de la España contemporánea, vol. I, pp. 174-216.
- Garrabou, Ramón, "Salarios y proletarización en la agricultura catalana de mediados del siglo XIX", Hacienda pública española, 108-109, pp. 343-359.
- and Tello, E., "Salario como coste, salario como ingreso: el precio de los jornales agrícolas en la Cataluña contemporánea (1727-1930)".
- Garrido Arce, Estrella, "La imposible igualdad. Familia y estrategias hereditarias en la Huerta de Valencia a mediados del siglo XVIII", Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica, X, 3, 1992, pp. 83-104.
- Goody, Jack, Thirsk, Joan, and Thompson, E.P. (eds), Family and Inheritance. Rural society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Grantham, George, and MacKinnon, Mary (eds.), Labour market evolution. The economic history of market integration, wage flexibility and the employment relation, Routledge, 1994.
- Gullickson, Gay L., Spinners and Weavers of Auffay. Rural Industry and the sexual division of labour in a French village, 1750-1850, Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Hareven, Tamara K., Family Time and Industrial Time, Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Harrigan, Patrick J., Mobility, elites, and education in French society of the second Empire, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980.
- Hartmann, Heidi, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex",
- Herr, Richard, Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the end of the Old Régime, University of California Press, 1989.
- Higgs, E., "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses", History Workshop Journal, 23, 1987.
- Hijano, Angeles, El pequeño poder. El municipio en la Corona de Castilla: siglos XV al XIX, Fundamentos, Madrid, 1992.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, Labouring Men. Studies in the History of Labour, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968.
- , The Making of the English Working Class.
- Hufton, Olwen, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974.

- , "Women, Work, and Family", in N. Zemon Davis and A. Farge (eds.), A History of Women, vol. 3, Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes, Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Huguet, Pilar, Historia y técnica del encaje, Renacimiento, Madrid, 1914.
- Huppert, George, "The social function of classical schooling in Renaissance France", in Gerarchie economiche e gerarchie sociali, secoli XII-XVIII. Atti delle Settimane di Studi del Istituto 'F. Datini', Le Monnier, 1990, pp. 649-673.
- Jacob, Anne, Le Travail. Reflet des Cultures. Du sauvage indolent au travailleur productif, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1994.
- Joyce, Patrick, The historical meanings of work, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Kaplan, Steven L., and Koepp, Cynthia J. (eds.) Work in France. Representations. Meaning. Organization and Practice, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1986.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice, A Woman's Wage. Historical Meanings and Social Consequences, The University Press of Kentucky, 1990.
- King, Peter, "Customary rights and women's earnings: the importance of gleaning to the rural labouring poor, 1750-1850", Economic History Review, XLIV, 3 (1991), pp. 461-476.
- Kraatz, Anne, Lace. History and Fashion, 1989, Thames and Hudson, London.
- Kriedte, Peter, Peasants, Lords and Merchant Capitalists. Europe and the World Economy, 1500-1800, Berg Publishers Ltd., 1983.
- Laborde, Alexander de, View of Spain, comprising a descriptive itinerary of each province, and a general statistical account of the country, London, 1809, 2 vols.
- Larruga, Eugenio, Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercio, fábricas y minas de España, Madrid, por Don Antonio Espinosa, 1793.
- Laslett, Peter, and Wall, Richard (eds.), Household and Family in past time, Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Leal, Arnaldo, De aldea a villa. Historia chica de las Tres Villas Pasiegas, Museo Villas Pasiegas, Santander, 1991.
- Lewis May, Florence, Hispanic Lace and Lace making, The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1939.
- Llombart, Vicent, "La política económica de Carlos III ¿Fiscalismo, cosmética o estímulo al crecimiento?", Revista de Historia económica, XX, 1 (1994), pp. 11-39.
- Llopis Agelán, Enrique, "La cabaña trashumante del Monasterio de Guadalupe: historia, funcionamiento y resultados", mimeo.
- , "Medio siglo de una gran explotación trashumante: la cabaña merina del Monasterio de El Pualar, 1680-1730", paper presented at the Congreso de la Asociación de Historia económica, San Sebastián, 1994.
- López Casero, Francisco, "La Plaza", Etnica, 4, 1972, pp. 89-133.

- López Fernández, "La propiedad de la tierra a mediados del siglo XVIII en Caracul",
- López Linage, Javier, Antropología de la ferocidad cotidiana. Supervivencia y trabajo en una comunidad cántabra, Madrid, Ministerio de Agricultura, 1978.
- López-Salazar, Jerónimo, La Mancha según el censo del conde de Aranda (1768-1769), Cuadernos de Estudios Manchegos, 5, Ciudad Real, 1974.
- , "Evolución demográfica de La Mancha en el siglo XVIII", Hispania, 133, 1976, pp.232-292.
- , Estructuras agrarias y sociedad rural en La Mancha (ss.XVI y XVII).
- , Mesta, pastos y conflictos en el Campo de Calatrava (s. XVI).
- Lynch, John, Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Madoz, Pascual, Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar, Madrid, 1845-1850, 16 vols.
- Madrazo, Santos, El sistema de transportes en España, 1750-1850, 2 vols., Turner, Madrid, 1984.
- Magnusson, Lars, "Proto-industrialisation, culture et tavernes en Suède (1800-1850)", Annales, 1990, 1, pp. 21-36.
- Maldonado y Cocat, Ramón, El Convento de San Francisco. Parador Nacional de Almagro, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, CSIC, Ciudad Real, 1985.
- Martín, V., "El socorro a los pobres. Los opúsculos de Vives y Sotos", Información comercial española, 656, 1988.
- Martínez Martín, Manuel, Revolución liberal y cambio agrario en la Alta Andalucía, Universidad de Granada, Granada, 1995.
- Martínez Vara, Tomás (ed.), I.M. Estado de las fábricas, comercio, industria y agricultura en las Montañas de Santander (s. XVIII), Santander, Librería Estudio, 1979.
- Mathias, Peter, "Wages and Leisure", in Domanda e consumi. Livelli e strutture (nei secoli XIII-XVIII), Atti, Istituto 'F. Datini', 1978, pp. 7-19.
- Mayeur, Françoise, L'éducation des filles en France au XIXe siècle, Hachette, 1979.
- Maynes, Mary Jo, Schooling in Western Europe, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1985.
- McMurry, S., "Women's Work in Agriculture: Divergent Trends in England and America, 1800 to 1930", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 34, 1, 1992, pp. 248-270.
- McNulty, Paul J., The Origins and Development of Labor Economics, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1984.
- Medrano y Treviño, Diego, Consideraciones sobre el estado económico, moral y político de la provincia de Ciudad Real, dedicadas a la Sociedad económica de amigos del país de la misma provincia, en 30 de abril de 1841, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos del CSIC, Madrid, 1972.
- Meijide Pardo, Antonio, "La emigración gallega intrapeninsular en el siglo XVIII", Estudios de

Historia social de España, IV, vol. 2, CSIC, Madrid, 1960, pp. 532-

Memoria acerca de la proposición que han presentado a las Cortes los Sres. Diputados Ceballos y Zaldívar sobre despojar de la antigua posesión de capital a la M.N. y M.L. Ciudad de Ciudad-Real, Madrid, Imprenta del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos, 1837.

Méndez, Lourdes, 'Cousas de mulleres'. Campesinas. poder y vida cotidiana (Lugo. 1940-1980), Anthropos, Barcelona, 1988.

Merzario, R., "Donne sole nelle valli e nelle montagne", forthcoming.

Michel, Andrée (ed.), Les femmes dans la société marchande, Presses Universitaires de France, 1978.

Moretti, Pietro, "L'economia del matrimonio: l'aggregazione domestica in una comunità calabrese del '700", Miscellanea di Studi Storici, 3, 1983, pp. 5-29.

Mottu-Weber, Liliane, "L'évolution des activités professionnelles des femmes à Genève du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle", in La donna nell'economia, secc. XIII-XVIII, Atti della "Ventunesima Settimana di Studi", Istituto Internazionale 'F. Datini', Firenze, Le Monnier, 1990.

Núñez, Clara Eugenia, La fuente de la riqueza. Educación y desarrollo económico en la España contemporánea, Alianza, Madrid, 1992.

---- and Tortella, Gabriel (eds.), La maldición divina. Estudios sobre educación y crecimiento económico, Alianza, 1993.

Oakley, Anne, The Sociology of Housework, 1974.

Observaciones presentadas a la Diputación de Ciudad Real sobre la utilidad de trasladar la capital a la ciudad de Almagro. que sirvieron de base a la misma en la Exposición que sobre dicho objeto hizo al Gobierno con su Presidente y actual Gefe político D. José Puidullés, Madrid, Imprenta de D. L. Amarita, 1837.

Oppenheim Mason, Karen, Vinovskis, Maris A., and Hareven, Tamara K., "Women's Work and the Life Course in Essex County, Massachussets, 1880", in Tamara K. Hareven, ed., Transitions. The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective, Academic Press, New York, 1978.

Ortega Alba, El sur de Córdoba. Estudio de geografía agraria, Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, Córdoba, 1975.

Palomino, Aquilino, Egemplos morales o las consecuencias de la buena y de la mala educación en los varios destinos de la sociedad, Madrid, 1827.

Pan-Montojo, Juan, "El trabajo y el mercado de trabajo en la Cortes del primer XIX", paper presented at the Jornadas sobre parlamentarismo, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma, 1994.

Pardo Bazán, Emilia, La mujer española, ed. Leda Schiavo, Editora Nacional, Madrid, 1976.

Parejo Barranco, Antonio, Industria dispersa e industrialización en Andalucía. El textil antequerano (1752-1900), Caja de Ahorros de Antequera, 1989.

Peristiany, J. G. (ed.), Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society, The University of Chicagoo Press, 1966.

- Petrusewicz, Marta, Latifondo. Economía morale e vita materiale in una periferia dell'Ottocento, Marsilio, 1989.
- Phillips, Anne and Taylor, Barbara, "Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics", Feminist Review, 6, 1980, 79-88.
- Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time, 1957.
- Quataert, Jean H., "The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648-1870", The American Historical Review, 90, 5, december 1985, pp. 1122-1148.
- , "Teamwork in Saxon homeweaving families in the nineteenth century. A preliminary investigation into the issue of gender roles", in Joeres, Ruth-Ellen B., and Maynes, Mary Jo (eds.), German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Quirós, Francisco, "Valle de Alcudia y Campo de Calatrava", in F. Quirós and G. Planchuelo, El paisaje geográfico. Valle de Alcudia. Campo de Calatrava y Campo de Montiel, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1992.
- Rahn Phillips, Carla, Ciudad Real. 1500-1750. Growth, Crisis, and Readjustment in the Spanish Economy, Harvard University Press, 1979.
- , "The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1780", Journal of Economic History, 42 (1982): 775-796.
- Reher, David, and Ballesteros, Esmeralda, "Precios y salarios en Castilla la Nueva: la construcción de un índice de salarios reales, 1501-1991", Revista de Historia económica, XI, 1, pp. 101-151.
- Ringrose, David, Madrid and the Spanish Economy. 1560-1850, University of California Press, 1983.
- [Río, Manuel del], Vida pastoril por Don Manuel del Río. vecino de Carrascosa. provincia de Soria. Ganadero trashumante. y Hermano del Honrado Concejo de la Mesta [1833]
- Rivas, Ana María, Antropología social de Cantabria, Universidad de Cantabria, 1991.
- Rodríguez de Campomanes, Pedro, Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular and Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento, edited by John Reeder, Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1975.
- Rodríguez Espinosa, Eduardo, "El aprovechamiento del suelo en el Campo de Calatrava a mediados del siglo XVIII. El regadío.", Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Castilla- La Mancha, vol. VIII, Conflictos sociales y evolución económica en la Edad Moderna (2), pp. 305-315.
- Rodríguez Labandeira, José, El trabajo rural en España (1876-1936), Anthropos, Madrid, 1991.
- Rowland, Robert, Antropología. história e diferença. Alguns aspectos, Edições Afrontamento, Porto, 1987.
- Rule, John, The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry, London, Croom Helm, 1981.
- Sánchez Gómez, Miguel Angel, et al., Historia general de Cantabria. siglos XVIII y XIX, vol. 2,

Ediciones Tatín, Santander, 1986.

Sánchez-López, Lorenzo, "La población", in Historia de Almagro

Sánchez Salazar, Felipa, Extensión de cultivos en España en el siglo XVIII, SIGLO XXI, Madrid, 1988.

Sánchez Sánchez, Isidro, "Siglo XIX: los sectores mercantiles e industriales", in Historia de Almagro (Ponencias de las III, IV, V y VI Semanas de Historia), Universidad popular de Almagro, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1993, pp. 475-519.

Sarasúa, Carmen, Criados, nodrizas y amos. El servicio doméstico en la formación del mercado de trabajo madrileño, 1758-1868, Madrid, SIGLO XXI, 1994.

----, "Las emigraciones temporales en una economía de minifundio: los Montes de Pas, 1758-1888", Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía.

----, "La industria del encaje en el Campo de Calatrava", Arenal. Revista de Historia de las mujeres, 4, 1996.

Scanlon, Geraldine M., La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1974), SIGLO XXI, Madrid, 1976.

----, "Nuevos horizontes culturales: la evolución de la educación de la mujer en España 1868-1900", in Mujer y educación en España, 1868-1975, VI Coloquio de Historia de la Educación, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1990, pp. 721-740.

Scholliers, P. (ed.), Real Wages in 19th and 20th Century Europe.

Scott, Joan Wallach, Gender and the Politics of History, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988.

Segalen, Martine, Love and Power in the Peasant Family. Rural France in the Nineteenth Century, Basil Blackwell, 1983.

Semanario de Agricultura dirigido a los Párrocos.

Sewell, William, Work and revolution in France. The language of labour from the old regime to 1848, Cambridge University Press.

Shahar, Shulamith, "The Regulation and Presentation of Women in Economic Life (13th-18th centuries)", La donna nell'economia, secc. XIII-XVIII, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', Le Monnier, 1990, p. 503.

Sharpe, Pamela, "A Womanly Accomplishment", Instituto Universitario Europeo, 1993.

----, "Continuity and change: women's history and economic history in Britain", Economic History Review, XLVIII, 2 (1995), pp. 353-369.

Simpson, James, "Technical Change, Labor Absorption and Living Standards in Rural Andalucía, 1886-1936", Agricultural History, 66, 3, 1991, pp. 1-24.

Sommestad, L, "Able Dairymaids and Proficient Dairywomen: Education and De-Feminization in the Swedish Dairy Industry", Gender and History, 4, 1, 1992, pp. 34-48.

- Tilly, Louise A. and Scott, Joan W., Women, Work and Family, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.
- Trevilla, Andrés de, Apuntes sobre diezmos, Córdoba, 1837.
- Viazzo, Pier Paolo and Dionigi, Albera, "The Peasant Family in Northern Italy, 1750-1930: A Reassessment", Journal of Family History, 15, 4, 1990, pp. 461-482.
- Vicedo, Enric, "Las condiciones de reproducción de la unidad familiar campesina en la Catalunya Nova: las 'Terres de Lleida'", Noticiario de Historia Agraria, III, 5, 1993, pp. 43-66.
- Ward, Bernardo, Proyecto económico en que se proponen varias providencias dirigidas a promover los intereses de España con los medios y fondos necesarios para su plantificación, Madrid, Joachin Ibarra, 1779.
- Wiesner, Merry E., "Guilds, Male Bonding and Women's Work in Early Modern Germany", Gender and History, 1, 2, 1989, pp. 125-137.
- Wikander, Ulla, "On Women's History and Economic History", Scandinavian Economic History Review, XXXVIII, no. 2, 1990, 65-71.
- Windebank, Jan, "Comment expliquer le rapport des femmes au foyer et à la famille: les débats français autour du travail domestique", Nouvelles questions féministes, 1994, vol.15, 1, pp. 9-34.
- Zylberberg-Hocquard, Marie-Hélène, "Les Ouvrières d'Etat (Tabacs-Allumettes) dans les dernières années du XIXe siècle", Annales.

MANUSCRITOS

1. Biblioteca Menendez Pelayo (Santander), sección Manuscritos.
Papeles varios referentes a la conveniencia de separar de la provincia de Burgos las villas y lugares q. actualmente componen la de Santander, a la división de ésta en partidos y corregimientos y al número de vecinos que tenía, según diferentes padrones, etc., Ms. 227.
2. Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), sección Manuscritos.
Tomás López, Interrogatorio.

Archives

Santander

1. Archivo Municipal de Vega de Pas
2. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santander
section Hacienda
3. Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo (Santander)
Section Manuscritos

Burgos

4. Archivo Municipal de Espinosa de los Monteros
section Administración general

Ciudad Real

5. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Ciudad Real
section Hacienda
6. Archivo Municipal de Almagro
7. Biblioteca Municipal de Ciudad Real (fondos antiguos)

Córdoba

8. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba
section Ensenada
9. Archivo Municipal de Rute (Córdoba)

Madrid

10. Archivo de Villa
section Secretaría
11. Archivo Histórico Nacional
section Consejos
section Clero
12. Archivo de la Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País
13. Biblioteca Nacional, section Manuscritos
14. Calcografía Nacional
15. Museo Municipal de Madrid



Archives

Continued

1. [Illegible]

2. [Illegible]

3. [Illegible]

4. [Illegible]

5. [Illegible]

6. [Illegible]

7. [Illegible]

8. [Illegible]

9. [Illegible]

10. [Illegible]

11. [Illegible]

12. [Illegible]

13. [Illegible]

14. [Illegible]

15. [Illegible]

16. [Illegible]

17. [Illegible]

18. [Illegible]

19. [Illegible]

20. [Illegible]

21. [Illegible]

22. [Illegible]

23. [Illegible]

24. [Illegible]

25. [Illegible]

26. [Illegible]

27. [Illegible]

28. [Illegible]

29. [Illegible]

30. [Illegible]

